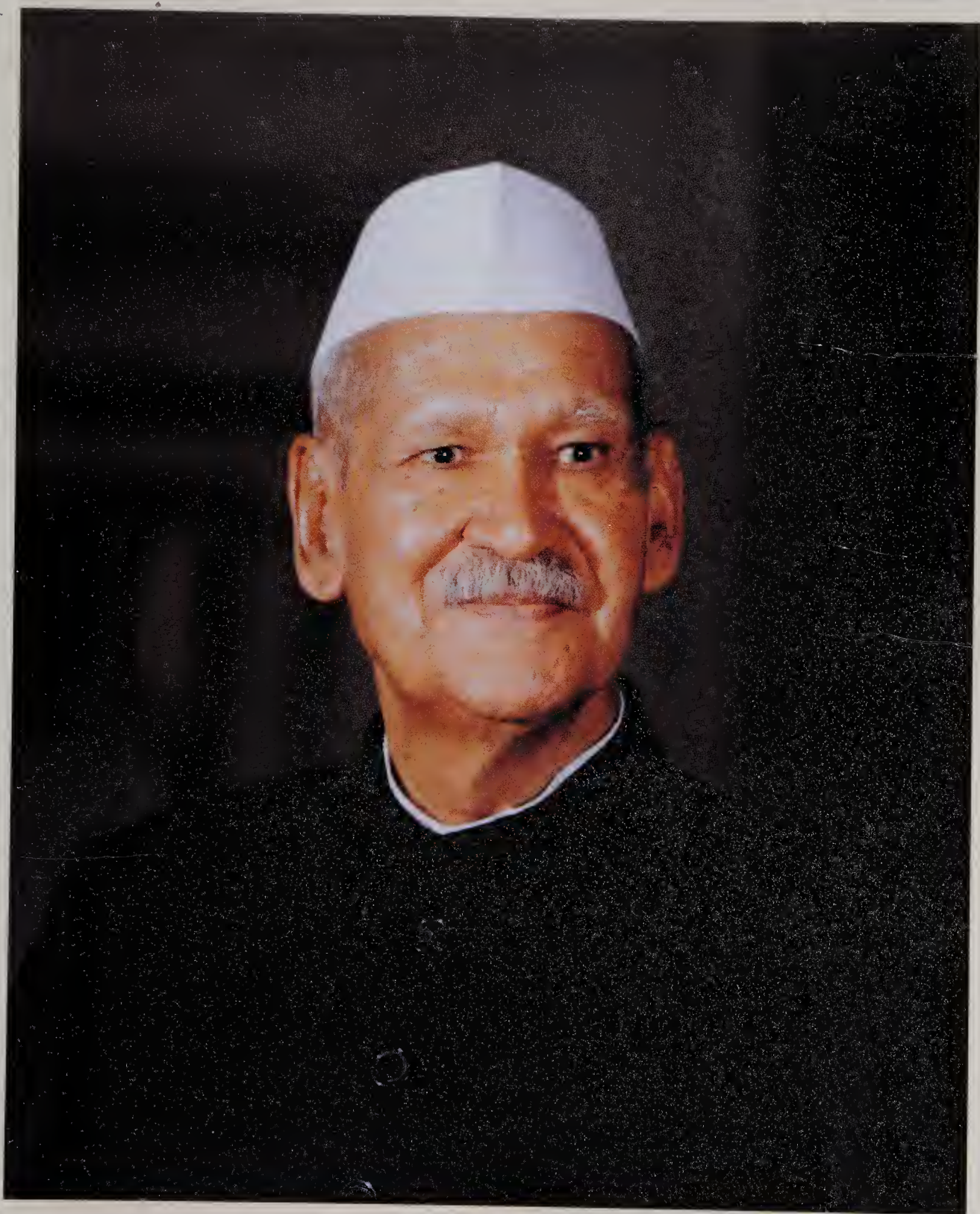


PRESIDENT

DR. SHANKER DAYAL SHARMA



SELECTED SPEECHES VOLUME - I

For India, the years 1992 to 1994 were witness to numerous trials and tribulations, challenges and triumphs in diverse areas of national endeavour. It is a tribute to the resilience of our ethos that India proved herself in this period and, indeed, emerged stronger than ever before. New momentum was imparted to the economic processes in our society. India continued to make her contribution to international peace, disarmament and development.

It was in July 1992 that Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma assumed the highest office of India.

This is the first volume of President Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma's selected speeches covering the period July 1992 to December 1994.

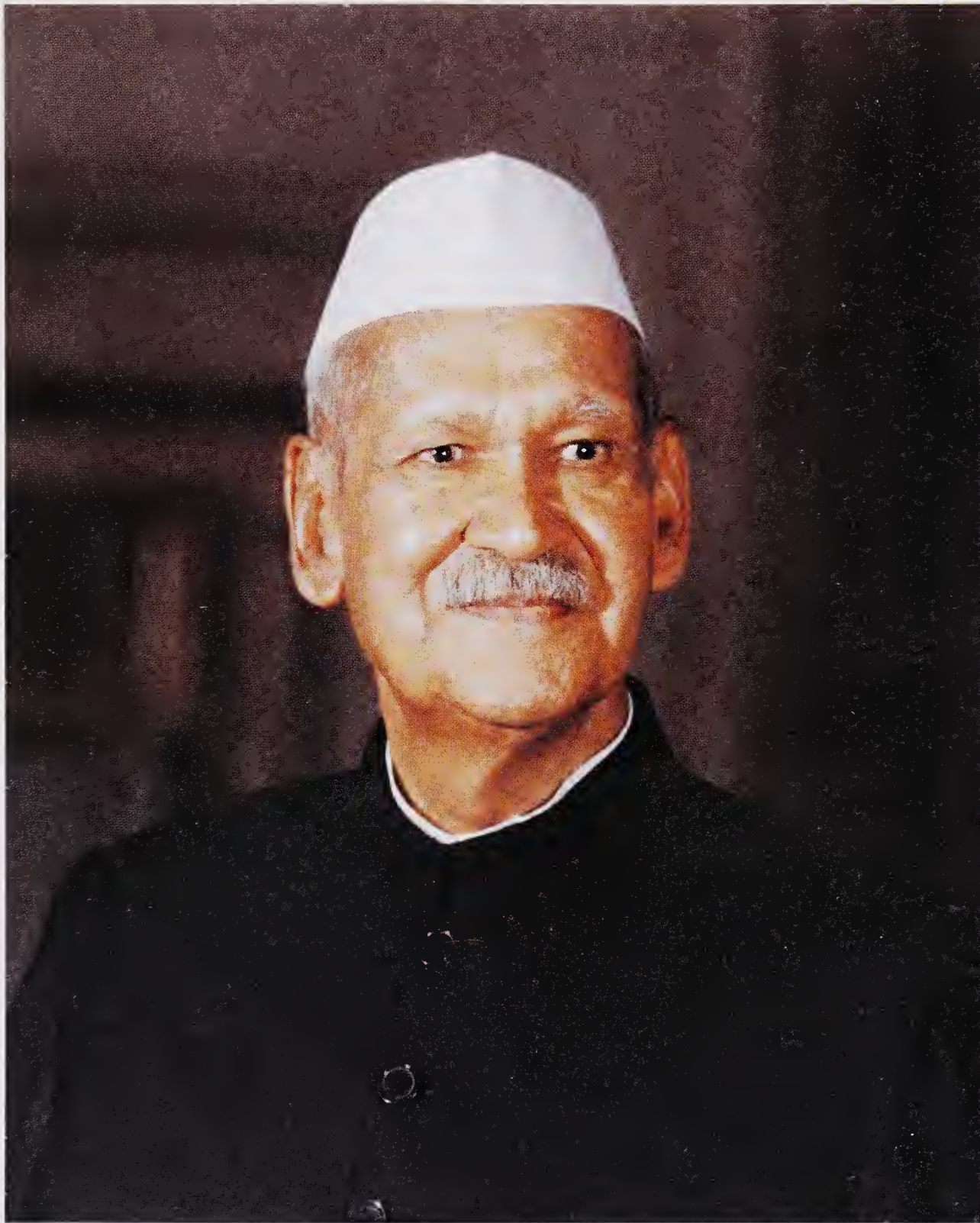
The speeches reflect the President's erudition and statesmanship. He has voiced the nation's commitment to democracy, secularism and social justice, to peace and service to humanity.



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PRESIDENT
DR. SHANKER DAYAL SHARMA
SELECTED SPEECHES

VOLUME I



**PRESIDENT
DR. SHANKER DAYAL SHARMA
SELECTED SPEECHES**

**VOLUME I
JULY 1992—DECEMBER 1994**

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Publisher's Note

The President, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, assumed the highest office in July 1992. This volume contains a selection of his speeches from July 1992 to December 1994.

The speeches are grouped into nine chapters: National Affairs, Economic Affairs, Health and Social Welfare, Education, Art & Culture, Mass Media, Science & Technology, Defence, India and the World and Messages. In each chapter the speeches are arranged chronologically.

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I National Affairs

Service to the Nation

ON HAVING ENTERED upon the office of the President of our Republic, I stand before you, in all humility, overwhelmed with gratitude for the honour done to me in electing me to a position graced by such illustrious personages as Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Dr. Zakir Husain. The stalwarts who have preceded me devoted their great personal qualities to national well-being, striving with utmost dedication to perform the role assigned in our polity to the Constitutional Head of State.

My mind is filled with thoughts of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and the great national leaders, martyrs and freedom fighters, whose suffering and sacrifices made freedom possible and helped build our country's system of Parliamentary democracy.

May I say that I shall endeavour to do all I may, in keeping with the oath I have had the honour to make and subscribe, to serve our nation in a manner as would befit an occupant of this office.

I have given expression to these thoughts after some deliberation, aware that there is cause for introspection also by all who wish to take this great country forward—all who yearn to see an India as a land of peace, harmony, prosperity and social justice : a strong, united nation, wedded to the Rule of Law, drawing sustenance from ethical and moral values, and capable thus of overcoming the challenges of terrorism, communal feeling, and caste and gender oppression, of poverty, ignorance and disease.

We are in the fiftieth year after the Quit India Movement of 1942 and memories flood my mind of the idealism, courage and determination with which the great struggle was waged. We have to safeguard freedom and the gains of freedom. Let us remember that freedom has little meaning without equality, and equality has little meaning without social and economic justice. During my term in office I hope and pray that I would witness the needs and concerns of the people being ministered to, and a much better

Speech on assumption of office as President of India, delivered in Central Hall, Parliament House, New Delhi, 25 July 1992

quality of life materialising, particularly in the rural areas where, for many, each day is filled with worry about livelihood, sustenance and security.

And as we strive for national reconstruction, the vision of great leaders in our history is with us : of India's role in the comity of nations. On August 14, 1947, speaking in the Constituent Assembly, in the emerging moments of Independent India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said, "We have to labour and to work, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are also for the world, for all the nations and the peoples. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

Fellow citizens, our ethos of secularism—equal respect for all religions—involving a concept and a way of life which every Indian should naturally understand, ought to guide us every day in our individual growth and social inter-action as a time-tested approach for the attainment of our cherished goals.

Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, in an essay on the vision of India, had been moved to say, "I love India, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons."

Over fifty centuries ago, in the Prithvi Sukta in the *Atharva Veda*, we find a magnificent manifestation on our secular outlook:

“जनं विभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसम् । नानाधर्माणं पृथिवी यथैकसम् ।”

“The Earth which supports diverse people of various persuasions and temperaments, as in a peaceful home, may it benefit all of us”.

The *Yajurveda* states : मित्रस्य चक्षुषा समीक्षामहे ।।

“May we look on one another with the eyes of a friend.”

The *Bhagavad Gita* states :

“ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ।।”

“In whatever way men identify with Me, in the same way, do I carry out their desires; men pursue My path, Partha, in all ways”.

An exquisite expression of secular dictates, stemming from Buddhist thought may be secured from Edict-XII of the Mauryan Emperor Ashok:

“One who reveres one’s own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one’s own religion and to glorify it over all other religions, does injure one’s own religion most certainly.”

The Jain spiritual and intellectual tradition of universal love towards all living things, compassion and service, augments such a view. The immortal work, *Thirukkural*, by the Saint Thiruvalluvar, similarly commends an outlook of pluralism and oneness.

India received the light of Christianity as early as 52 A.D. when St. Thomas the Apostle preached the gospel in Kerala. This was centuries before Christianity reached Europe.

Some years ago I had occasion personally to tend upon Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan—Badshah Khan, the heroic champion of freedom, non-violence and peace, who had a profound understanding of Islam. He used to say :

“मैंने सेक्युलरिज्म गांधी से नहीं सीखा। सेक्युलरिज्म मैंने कुरान में पाया।”

“I did not have to learn secularism from Gandhiji. I gained knowledge of secularism from the *Koran Sharief*”.

His view in this respect coincided beautifully with the brilliant interpretation by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his *Tarjuman Al Koran* and in his other writings.

The philosophy of Sikhism provides a superlative example of secular thought. Should all in India not bear in mind a verse composed by Guru Gobind Singh:

देहरा मसीत सोई, पूजा ओ नमाज ओई,
मानस सबै एक पै अनेक को प्रभाव है।
अलह अभेख सोई, पुरान ओ कुरान ओई,
ए एक ही सरूप सबै, एक ही बनाव है।

“Mandir or Mosque, Puja or Namaz, *Puran* or *Koran* have no difference. All human beings are equal and manifestations of the same.”

The appreciation by citizens of the oneness of the inner doctrine of all religions is essential as much for national well-

being, as for the value of the contribution India can make to global understanding, peace and progress. Dr. Zakir Husain had once said:

“We want peace between the individual and groups within nations. These are all vitally interdependent. If the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, Buddha’s philosophy of compassion, the Hindu concept of Ahimsa, and the passion of Islam for obedience to the will of God can combine, then we would succeed in generating the most potent influence for world peace.”

At this moment I am aware, more than ever, that all of us, fellow citizens, have a great cause to serve. Great causes make great demands on the human spirit. If we are truly Indian in thought, action and spirit, we shall certainly illumine for the world, the path to synthesis, harmony, peace and prosperity, and thus, indeed, be able to interpret the human spirit to all humankind.

I pray that the Almighty gives me the strength and wisdom to dedicate myself in the spirit of service for the proper fulfilment of my duties and responsibilities; and that our nation advances from strength to strength, true to the genius and heritage of our people, for a better world, a better future, for all.

Movement for Human Dignity

WE HAVE ASSEMBLED here today in this Central Hall of Parliament House—the venue hallowed by the history of our nation, our minds engrossed with the emotion, the rationale, and the spirit of ‘Do or Die’, which electrified the national atmosphere fifty years ago when the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi—Bapu—as we in the struggle called him—launched the Quit India Movement. The movement had involved the people of India, the masses, men and women, youth, and even children, in the cities of

Addressing the 50th Anniversary celebration of Quit India Movement,
New Delhi, 8 August 1992

India, and perhaps, even more so : from the towns, villages and hamlets in the vast hinterland of our country.

Following the rejection of the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, in early 1942, a tremendous wave of public opinion had surcharged the national mood. Those in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom felt, with piercing intensity, the need to galvanize the people unitedly to liberate India from subjugation under foreign rule. There was a clear-sighted determination to confront the dominant authority with a total commitment of the power and resources of the masses and their fervent desire to win freedom.

It is important to remember that the Quit India Movement was an intrinsic manifestation of the yearning for human dignity that consistently inspired our struggle against the might of the most powerful empire on earth. The Quit India Movement should therefore be viewed, in the perspective of our history, in essence, as a movement for human dignity—a movement not limited merely to achieving India's Independence but as an endeavour for a better world for all.

Bapu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other great national leaders consistently kept in view the larger significance of the task they had in hand to achieve the goal. Bapu selected political methods which "will offer the most promise of achieving an ethical social goal for society." The aim was to remedy, in his words, "the disproportion in power which lay at the root of all the evils of the world." ... "Mere adjustments of social conflict caused by the disproportion of power in society," he said, "will hardly result in justice so long as the disproportion lasts." Thus the Resolution passed by the AICC on August 8, 1942, in Bombay, said : "The freedom of India is necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world, and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, Imperialism and other forms of militarism and the aggression of one nation over another." It said: "By the freedom of India—the classical land of modern imperialism—the peoples of Asia and Africa will be filled with hope and enthusiasm... the freedom of India must be the symbol of the prelude to the freedom of all other nations under domination."

Sanctioning the commencement of the mass struggle, the leadership kept a clear focus on the vital importance of non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi said: "I ask for a bloodless end of an

unnatural domination and for a new era.” The AICC appealed to the people to remember that non-violence was the basis of the movement and warned that there would be risks involved in such a course. It was said: “Such risks, however, have to be faced by our country in order to achieve freedom and, more specially at the present critical juncture, in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom of the world over from far greater risks and perils.” The word went out: “A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committee can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself... every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide.”

On August 8, 1942, the AICC adopted the historic Quit India Resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Bapu said on the occasion: “I want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had. Here is a *Mantra*, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts, and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The *Mantra* is : ‘Do or Die’... take a pledge with God and your own conscience as witness, that you will no longer rest till freedom is achieved and will be prepared to lay down your lives in the attempt to achieve it... freedom is not for cowards or the faint-hearted.”

The overwhelming moral and political force of this appeal evoked a nation-wide upsurge in which millions participated. Patriotic emotion swept across the land, firing the masses with the desire to contribute in the great cause. Bapu had said his aim was—“freedom for all and not for any particular community.”

It is a fact, and we should recognize it, that the ardent sentiment for freedom suffused Indians in all parts of our country, in diverse walks of life, welding a sense of national unity that alarmed the dominant authority of the time. On 31st August, 1942, the then Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, wrote to the Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill: “I am engaged here in meeting by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security.” These authorities were also mindful of public opinion in the United States of America being consistently on the side of the freedom movement in India. Perceptive political analysts realised that the belief that sections of the Indian

people favoured continuance of foreign rule was a delusion. After large scale strikes in mills in Kanpur, Jamshedpur and Ahmedabad, a despatch from Delhi dated 5th September, 1942, to the Secretary of State, in London, reported about the Communist Party of India: "the behaviour of many of its members proves what has always been clear, namely, that it is composed of anti-British revolutionaries."

The authorities reacted swiftly with precision, effecting nation-wide arrests on the night of 8th August and a variety of meticulously coordinated regulatory measures were imposed, aimed at dislocating, dismembering and suppressing the Movement. Bapu was imprisoned in Pune in the Aga Khan Palace. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Asaf Ali, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Acharya Kripalani, and Shri Shankar Rao Deo were interned in Ahmednagar Fort Jail. Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narain was imprisoned in Hazaribagh Jail till he managed to escape.

The heroic image of Aruna Asaf Ali is vivid in our minds. At that fateful moment, when the tallest leadership of the country was in police custody, she mounted the rostrum at a public meeting on 9th August, 1942 at Gowalia Tank Maidan, Bombay, to unfurl the flag of freedom. She exemplified the resolve of the people of India to fight on for the cause undaunted.

Happily, Arunaji, whose heroic exploits captured the imagination of the youth, is with us today. I should like to recall a reference to her in the Wickenden Report : "Perhaps no name appears more often than hers. In her headquarters at Delhi, she was the moving spirit, her activities spreading to the Punjab and the United Provinces. I am not much concerned with her revolutionary activities of which there is overwhelming evidence, but she was a member of the Central Directorate and continued in touch with other members. She is still out."

On 10th August, 1942, the Congress bulletin carried Mahatma Gandhi's 'Call to the Nation': "*Karengé Ya Marengé*", Bapu had said : "Every man is free to go to the fullest length under ahimsa. Bring about complete deadlock through strikes—*Karengé Ya Marengé*." The Congress bulletin greeted the people of Bombay and India for their courageous response to the call. It said: "Every man, woman and child has pledged that this land is ours and we will fight for it... the martyrs who fell in the street barricades have

written it in their blood. The workers, the masses, the students of schools and colleges, the merchants who closed the markets, and the thousands who defied tyrant authority spoke with one voice...the voice of liberty." It also stressed, "Respect those who differ from you. Win them over by your love, sacrifice and deathless determination to be free. Gandhiji is behind the bars, but Mahatma Gandhi has nominated every man and woman as his successor. Carry on the struggle."

For months together, the people of India struggled against imperial might, facing the sternest repressive action, including detention, use of force, lathi charge, firing, and, in Bihar, even aerial strafing. Gallantly fell the martyrs with the song of freedom on their lips. A verse by Aman Lakhanvi comes to mind:

शहीदाने-वतन की क़ब्र से आवाज आई है,
वही हमसे मिले आकर जो अपनी जान से खेले।
उधर दुनिया की राहत है इधर लुत्फ़े-शहादत है,
ये सौदा है तेरे आगे, जो तू चाहे वही ले ले॥

"The graves of the martyrs have given us a call,
Only those, capable of playing with their lives,
Should come forward,
On one side are the worldly comforts,
The bliss of Martyrdom is on the other,
It is a bargain, choose whatever you may."

Subramania Bharati in his poem 'Ode to Freedom' had sung:

"Although divorced from the joys of the hearth
and consigned to dungeons dark;
although forced to exchange
a time of cheer for days of gloom;
although ten million troubles rage
to consume me entire;
Freedom! Mother! I shall not forget
to worship you."

So many made the supreme sacrifice, were maimed or injured, that it is no wonder that the veteran freedom fighter Achyut Patwardhan, who passed away a few days ago, recalled this period as one of suffering, pain and trauma. The Quit India Movement had become a baptism of fire for many who were then still in their youth, and were later to participate in the building of a new India.

In retrospect, it is not surprising that the colonial power of

the time, engaged as it was in a desperate war around the world, used the most severe methods to paralyse the leadership and crush the Movement. But the Quit India Movement did not fail in securing a far-reaching and enduring success. It imprinted the future indelibly. The Constitution of India bears the impress of the thoughts and the values that fired the struggle. The AICC Resolution of 8th August, 1942 had envisaged: "On the declaration of India's Independence, a Provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom... It will thus be a composite Government representative of all the people of India... The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a Constitution for the Government of India, acceptable to all sections of the people. This Constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a Federal one." This concept of the India of the future found practical materialisation in the years that followed. Who can then say that the struggle had been in vain ?

Fellow-citizens, today it is necessary to realise that freedom and the gains of freedom, so dearly won, must be safeguarded, and safeguarded by our commitment to the great values. These values are ours for centuries, and indeed are the values that would make a better world for all—a world where all humans can lead a life of dignity, peace and fulfilment.

In the fiftieth anniversary year of the Quit India Movement, it may be useful to make an effort, across the length and breadth of the country, to prepare local histories of the events at village, tehsil and district levels, of that glorious chapter in India's history, and thus enable the children and the youth of our Nation to learn of the contribution made by their own forebears in the service of the Motherland.

Freedom was won after great sacrifice. Freedom has to be defended and enlarged for the good of all. The younger generation has also to struggle for the Nation. The task now is to combat the ills that beset India. We have to labour to rid India of terrorism, communal feeling, caste and gender oppression, poverty, ignorance and disease. Only then would we, who enjoy the fruits of freedom, be worthy of those of the Movement of 1942.

I pay my respectful homage to the memory of the martyrs and freedom fighters who made the ultimate sacrifice in the great cause and enabled us to breathe and live and grow as a free people.

Build a Secure and Prosperous India

ON THE EVE of the auspicious 45th Anniversary of our Independence Day, in this Golden Jubilee Year of the historic Quit India Movement launched by the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, I take great pleasure in extending to you my warmest greetings and felicitations.

I pray that you may be blessed with good health, security, peace, prosperity, happiness and a sense of fulfilment. May an atmosphere of goodwill, understanding, friendship, oneness, and purposeful productive endeavour, abound in our Nation. May all of us, each day, draw strength and gain direction from the profound power of the most positive elements of our great spiritual, intellectual and cultural heritage. Thus may we contribute, with steadfast devotion, to the building of a strong, progressive Nation, and a better world for all.

The struggle for winning political freedom involved many great and radiant figures in our national history—inspiring personages who suffered terribly and yet persevered in the cause, martyrs who sacrificed themselves that India may be free. The struggle had spanned many generations and the ultimate glory of a non-violent revolution was attained on the strength of vast mass action and mobilisation. We are proud of this history. Let us offer our reverential homage to the heroic sons and daughters of India for their historic contribution in the struggle for national liberation.

I wish to express my faith in the resilience of the ethos of India, our country's ability to overcome any adversity, the unique genius of India, expressed for generations in superlative achievements in myriad spheres, the people's time-tested capacity to stay resolute in adherence to essential ethical and moral values and the nation's inner reserve of strength for the attainment of our national goals.

Human dignity and freedom, secularism, democracy and social justice, represent the ideals at the core of the humanist way

Address to the Nation on the eve of Independence Day, New Delhi,
14 August 1992

of life in India. These form the quintessence of the philosophy permeating our Constitution and the true basis for our nationhood. These ideals inspired our glorious struggle for freedom. Every success in our national endeavours—before or after Independence—can be traced to the espousal and pursuit of these ideals. Every setback and frustration can be traced to inadequacies or failures in their observance. As patriotic citizens who love our Motherland we have to follow these great ideals and exemplify them in our own lives. Then would our great nation be on the path of real national and individual development.

In our pluralistic society, in keeping with our ancient traditions of tolerance and understanding, we need to appreciate the true meaning and value of Secularism. Amidst the wide-ranging diversities of topography, climate, ethnicity, language, local traditions and custom, we need fully to understand the supreme value of national unity and the oneness of India that imbues all its diverse elements. In a polity yet stratified in terms of income distribution and ownership of wealth, it is important to respect the concepts of social justice, democracy and the Rule of Law. In a world where material attributes tend increasingly to be desired, we need to realize the importance of the duty of every individual citizen to contribute to the national well-being, and of having an unshakeable moral foundation for personal, social and national endeavour. In the effort to remove poverty, we need to remember the value of selfless service and the dignity of labour. In a period of unprecedented momentum of scientific advancement and international interaction we need to be receptive to the positive aspects of new technology and modernity, whilst yet adhering to the elevating components of our ancient culture. Sustained by our own national values and ethos, let us also welcome noble and wholesome thoughts from all sides. Forty-five years after Independence, perhaps more than ever, we have to comprehend and manifest the flaming spirit of Service, Patriotism and Sacrifice that blazed through our national struggle for freedom.

We Indians today have before us great vistas of positive growth. Our system of Parliamentary democracy and the proper functioning of the institutions of democratic governance is of central importance to the realization of the prospect before us. The power of the people, guided by leaders and parliamentarians of outstanding stature has taken India to its present position and strength. We are proud of the kisan, the jawan, the mazdoor, our artisans and entrepreneurs as we are of our scientists, engineers

and teachers, our doctors, writers, poets and artists, our social and voluntary workers, our judiciary, the civil service, and the armed forces. Our Nation has a wealth of talented and dedicated men and women comparable with the best in the world. This tremendous strength of human resource and ability has its greatest positive effect in tasks of national reconstruction when exerted in an environment of true democracy. It is crucial that all participate whole-heartedly to safeguard and magnify the gains of freedom.

Let us be aware also of the threats to the cause we serve. Terrorism in insidious nexus with the narcotics trade, wreaks brutality on innocent children, women and men under the pretence of religion. We must reiterate our solidarity with the families of the victims and fight this menace to its finish. Communal feelings and casteism have to be combated. These pernicious elements have a malignant bearing on national life. But a resolute, determined Will of the People can rid our nation of these ills. Each of us has a duty to perform to achieve this. A nation-wide effort is required and we have to persevere relentlessly to succeed.

The eyes of the world look upon us. India has given much to humankind. The message of India to the rest of the world has been of peace, friendship and cooperation. We shall continue to play a creative role in world affairs for a better future for all.

Friends, as citizens of a great country, let us strive to fulfil the dreams of those who gave their all for India's freedom, and labour to build a new India, strong, vibrant and progressive, making its rightful contribution for the good of all humankind.

Spread the Message of Ahimsa

WE HAVE ASSEMBLED here to commemorate the struggle, the sacrifice, the suffering, undergone fifty years ago during the Quit India Movement of 1942. Each one of us who has lived and laboured through those days would remember the atmosphere of

Addressing the All Assam Freedom Fighters' Convention, Nowgong,
18 October 1992

the time, the emotion, the rationale and the spirit of 'do or die' which Bapu had inspired.

The Movement had involved the people of India, the masses, men and women, youth and even children, in the cities, villages, hamlets in our vast country. We remember our compatriots—the flower of India's youth—who were felled in police firings or were incarcerated and subjected to corporal punishment. I remember, vividly, close friends who yearned intensely to see India free and gave up their lives before Independence had dawned. Each of us, when reflecting on that period in our lives remembers with pain the tragedy and trauma of events during the Movement, and the climate of terror that had come about, when the Government of the day launched determined repressive action to crush the Movement.

But who can deny experiencing the sense of exhilaration, hope and resolution that had infused patriots across the length and the breadth of the country?

The struggle for freedom waged in Assam comprises a glorious contribution in the history of India's advance towards Independence. The spirit of freedom has been nurtured and asserted by courageous sons and daughters of Assam from the very early decades of the 19th Century. The names of Piyali Phukan and Jiu Rama Dulia Barua, who were martyred in 1830, and Maniram Dewan and Piyali Barua, who made the supreme sacrifice in 1857, are part of a saga of heroism in Assam. It is noteworthy that the sense of national pride and willingness to sacrifice one's all for the sake of the motherland was shared by leaders and the common folk alike, throughout the region,—and proof of this is in the successive peasant movements from the mid-19th century onwards at Phulaguri in Nowgong district, in Patharughat in Darrang district, in Rangiya in Kamrup district, and several other places. The intensity of these peasant uprisings shook the administration. Simple villagers persevered in their struggle against misrule notwithstanding many being killed or captured. Understandably, after the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, Assam witnessed the formation of 'Rayat Sabhas' of several districts and the region became a fertile tract for an efflorescence of nationalist emotion and passion for freedom. It was in such an atmosphere that the journals *Jonaki* and *Banhi* commenced publication in 1889 and inspired a continuous inflammation of patriotic spirit, the youth and students of the region being the chief

torch-bearers. At this time art, literature and cultural motifs were all utilised by the intelligentsia as well as common folk to express a deep-seated desire for freedom from foreign subjugation. I think particular mention should be made of the patriotic marching songs composed by Rupkonwar Jyotiprasad Agarwal who greatly inspired people in the movement at that time and encouraged the youth as well as senior citizens to participate in the historic struggle for independence.

It was logical that the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, on returning to India from South Africa, should have taken an early opportunity to visit Assam where thousands upon thousands had already been mobilised under the leadership of Chandra Nath Sarma. Gandhiji's article entitled "Beautiful Assam", published in his *Young India* in 1921, symbolises the cherished position of Assam in India's consciousness. Between the early 1920s and 1942, an entire generation of fighters for freedom did pioneering work awakening the masses, spreading the message of non-violence, equality and social harmony, conducting satyagraha against oppression in the agrarian system, and pursuing constructive work through the medium of the rural economy and cottage and village industries.

The names of Karmavir Nabin Chandra Bordoloi and Deshbhakta Tarun Ram Phukan and Kuladhar Chaliha are memorable in this context for their leadership and the suffering they underwent in prison as well as outside.

The events of the 1942 Quit India Movement which we commemorate today form a chapter of their own in the history of the struggle in Assam. Who can forget the services rendered by Maulana Taiyab-Ullah, Bishnu Ram Medhi, Dr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed (who later became the President of India), Debeswar Sarma, Lokpriya Gopinath Bordoloi and Siddhi Nath Sarma, or the young patriots killed in police firing at different places. The image of Kushal Konwar will always shine with brilliance as a symbol of patriotism—with a song addressed to Mother India on his lips, he gave up his life at the gallows. Other martyrs in the struggle : Tilok Deka, Hem Ram Pathak, Gunabhi Bordoloi, Kollai Koch who fell in police firings come to mind. We remember also Bhogeshwari Phookanani for her outstanding contribution signifying the position of the women of Assam in India's struggle.

Nowgong had remained in the forefront of the struggle along with Darrang, Kamrup and Goalpara.

The Government had imposed a number of special ordinances, including the Penalties (Enhancement) Ordinance, 1942, The Special Criminal Courts Ordinance, Armed Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance, 1942 and the so-called 'Defence of India Rules'. The Subversive Activities Ordinance, 1943 enabled punishment of any individual with a sentence for death for indulging in subversive talk, writing and publication as might cause disaffection among or prejudice, prevent or interfere with the discipline, health or training of the police and troops. The Chief Secretary, Assam had instructed District Officers "to use this Ordinance to the fullest extent". Under the provisions of the Defence of India Rules, persons living within three miles distance could be held responsible for the protection of public property. Censorship of the press, surveillance, interrogation, and imposition of collective fines were some other instrumentalities employed by the administration. These draconian measures were used with particular severity, and people were subjected to flogging, prolonged detention on suspicion, and myriad other forms of harassment.

The Government statistics of that time indicate that in Nowgong district 816 persons were arrested upto 31st December, 1942, 78 being prosecuted under the Defence of India Rules. In Kamrup, 955 persons were arrested and 184 were prosecuted under the Defence of India Rules. An amount of Rs. 92,500 represented the collective fine imposed in Nowgong district which was considered "the most difficult area". (Even one thousand rupees was a substantial sum in those days).

In order to establish the effectiveness of control exerted by the governmental apparatus, official statistics indicated very few actions—only four—in which police firing took place, resulting in 22 fatal casualties and 70 non-fatal casualties in the period 9th August, 1942 to 31st December, 1943. But all of us know the actual story, as it had taken place, was altogether different.

Gandhiji, in launching the Quit India Movement, had aimed at a non-violent struggle, Bapu had selected political methods which in his words : "Will offer the most promising way of achieving an ethical social goal for society." He had said : "I ask for a bloodless end of an unnatural domination and for a new era." The A.I.C.C. had appealed to the people to adhere to non-violence as the basis of the Movement and had warned that there would be risks involving in such a course.

Initially the struggle had remained non-violent, but with the control by the leadership having been broken following large scale arrests and sudden detentions, the upsurge of popular feeling translated itself into action that resulted in methods other than purely non-violent. The Government was quick to fix the responsibility for all such incidents on the Congress Party and the leaders of the freedom struggle. That was the manifest purpose of the Wickenden Report which some of us would remember. The fact was that the scale and the momentum of the Quit India Movement, at a time when the foreign power was seriously disturbed by reverses during World War-II in the European as well as in the Asia-Pacific theatres of war, considered it a matter of survival to suppress the Movement and discredit its leaders.

For months together the people of India struggled against imperial might. I would like to quote the memorable verse by Aman Lakhnavi :

शहीदाने-वतन की कब्र से आवाज आई है,
वही हमसे मिले आकर जो अपनी जान से खेले।
उधर दुनिया की राहत है इधर लुत्फ़े-शहादत है,
ये सौदा है तेरे आगे, जो तू चाहे वही ले ले॥

“The graves of the martyrs have given us a call,
Only those, capable of playing with their lives,
Should come forward,
On one side are the worldly comforts,
The bliss of Martyrdom is on the other,
It is a bargain, choose whatever you may.”

It must be admitted that Assam, its people and leaders gave to the Quit India Movement of 1942 an impetus that helped shake the confidence of the ruling power in its ability to remain the suzerain authority, and despite the Movement having been crushed, the realization had come in the minds of the people as well as the colonial strategists, that the termination of the British rule in India was inevitable.

Fifty years later, when we recall all these happenings let us ask ourselves the question as to what we have fought for ? At that time the goal was to attain freedom—but freedom with a higher purpose that aimed at establishing a just society, progress, prosperity and happiness in an atmosphere of peace, goodwill and cooperation.

Those of us who participated in that historic struggle will remember the qualities and characteristics that marked the men and women who contributed to that effort. Selflessness, tenacity, willingness to sacrifice, faith in the secular, democratic, way of life and in non-violence, were the essentials in the make up of the freedom fighters in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Bapu had stressed the importance of the moral and ethical aspect, of truth, humility and a sense of service. It was taught to us that ends partake of the nature of the means employed. Again and again we were advised on the central importance of ahimsa.

Today, the numbers of those who were in the Movement are decreasing. Those who fought for India's freedom are a fast dwindling tribe. But I have firm belief that every freedom fighter, because of his innate qualities, still has an important contribution to make, even now in the years, months and days that remain for him. I believe that freedom-fighters can render invaluable service for the Motherland.

I feel the time has come when the message of non-violence, of understanding and love—ideals of the Great Master—need to be propagated effectively again and reached to every village, every home. The public mind must receive such impulses. And who is better qualified to do so than members of the struggle? I appeal to you therefore, the freedom fighters of Assam, once again to mobilise yourselves and transmit the gospel of ahimsa. As Bapu had said in '*Young India*' on December 9, 1926, "A votary of Ahimsa... will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the ideal. He will, therefore, be willing to die, so that the others may live."

In '*Harijan*' of August 20, 1938, Bapu had said : "Non-violence has no limits, it is a never-failing remedy." In the '*Harijan*' of July 26, 1942, Bapu had said: "To practise non-violence... is to bring heaven upon earth."

Let us decide therefore to strive to spread the message of ahimsa. In this 50th anniversary of Quit India Movement, and 45th year of India's Independence, this is what our great leaders would have expected us to do.

This area of Nowgong is hallowed by the memory of Srimanta Sankaradeva whose birth place is in the district. Srimanta Sankaradeva commenced the journey of his life in Nowgong and

gave to Assam, to the rest of India and to the world his eternal message of humanism, oneness, equality and service. I feel that it would be appropriate therefore for this assembly of freedom fighters to commence a movement for non-violence from Nowgong in this Golden Jubilee Year of that struggle, to ensure that our nation and our people advance to the ideal that was bright in the dreams of the Father of our Nation and the many martyrs and fighters for freedom.

Freedom was won after great sacrifice. Freedom has to be defended and enlarged for the good of all. Fellow freedom-fighters, and fellow-citizens, today it is necessary to realize that freedom and the gains of freedom, so dearly won, must be safeguarded, and safeguarded by our commitment to the values central to India's ethos. These values are ours for centuries, and indeed are the values that would make a better world for all—a world where all humans can lead a life of dignity, peace, and fulfilment.

I pay my respectful homage to the memory of the martyrs and freedom fighters of Assam who made the supreme sacrifice in the great cause.

Kerala Symbolises Oneness of India

I DEEM IT a privilege and an honour to be accorded this reception by the citizens of the famous city of Thrissur. I am very touched by your kind words about me and deeply appreciate the sentiments expressed by you. I thank you most sincerely for this opportunity for meeting all of you today.

Thrissur, known previously as Trichur, earlier as Thrisivaperoor, and earlier still as Thirusivapuram is one of the most ancient cities of our country, originally built around the temple of Shree Vadukkanathan. I refer to this in the context, and present relevance, of the word 'Siva', its meaning and its implications. 'Siva' is an integration of several concepts: Truth, Beauty,

Divinity and Salvation. 'Siva' represents the concepts of Time, of synthesis, of purity, of culmination and commencement, oneness and knowledge.

नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपंचवादं ।

उद्धर्तुकामः सनकादि सिद्धान् एतत् विमर्शो शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

This exquisite verse refers to Siva in his Cosmic dance form, observed with adoration by the great sages: Sanaka and others including Vyagrapada, with Vishnu beating the big drum and Brahma keeping time or Tala to the movements. The reference to नवपंचवादं and to शिवसूत्रजालम् is to the fourteen sciences and streams of knowledge and understanding that emanated from such a tremendous phenomenon.

The Adi Sankaracharya, according to legend, was born to Sivaguru and Aryamba after their prayers at the Vadukkanathan Temple and the four principal disciples of Sankara founded the maths: Vadakkamadhom, Naduvilmadhom, Edayilmadhom and Tekkamadhom to keep alive the essence of Vedic culture. Indeed Sankaracharya's philosophy, and brilliant expositions reasserted the spirit of oneness, synthesis and harmony which is the most valuable element in our national identity.

This spirit of toleration and understanding accounts for the policies followed by ruling authorities. The rulers, Bhaskar Ravi Verman and Veera Raghav Chakravarti made grants, inscribed on copper-plates, in favour of the Jewish community at Mattancheri, and the Syrian Christian community at Kottayam, bestowing certain privileges and safeguards. (St. Thomas, the Apostle, came to nearby Kodungallur and founded the Paalayoor Church. The Basilica of St. Mary in Thrissur town is said to be the biggest in Asia).

Similarly, the Tazhakat Church (near Irinjalkuda railway station) has an inscription of granite by the Chera Rajasimha, a contemporary of Raj Rajendra Chola, conferring rights on Christians engaged in trade and commerce. These documents comprise enduring proof, and remind us, of the intellectual tradition in this region.

The spirit of synthesis and oneness is also reflected in the beautiful artistic expression made through music, dance, sculpture and architecture. The frescoes on the walls of the Tirumanchikulam Siva Temple and the Vadukkanathan Temple, the sculptural

detail and architectural form of innumerable monuments, the musical instruments used, and the choreography of classical as well as folk dance, in the area exemplify attainment of beauty through synthesis in diversity : impressively demonstrated in the annual world-famous Pooram festival.

Apart from the philosophy of the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*, and of Buddhism and Jainism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam came to this region—in early times. These religions were given a place of honour by the local people not as a result of military conquest, or fear of conquest, but because of an attitude of understanding, tolerance and recognition of the oneness of the doctrine propagated. There was clear appreciation that the core tenets of Judaism, Christianity and Islam were identical to the ethical and moral code and spiritual thought innate to mainland religions.

Linguistic traditions in this area also reflect the spirit of enrichment through assimilation and oneness. We know that Manipravalam is a mixture of Malayalam and Sanskrit; Pattu : the mixture of Malayalam and Tamil; Mishra, as the name denotes, of Malayalam, Sanskrit and Tamil; Arabi Malayalam of Malayalam, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Tamil; and Suryanimalayalam, the mixture of Malayalam and Syriac. All these have rich literatures which are our common heritage.

I am mentioning this because while synthesis and oneness is possible, and indeed has been established with great success, it can be overtaken and ruined if myopic and mistaken notions are allowed to gain ground. We have to realise, and comprehend fully, the plain truth that communal thinking is the enemy of prosperity. Communal thinking leads inexorably to poverty, destruction and misery. The communal outlook benefits no one—not even those who for some immediate, selfish purpose seek to propagate it.

Kerala has given to the rest of the country the elevating thought of oneness and humanism. Kerala's prosperity and the happiness of the people here have occurred, and have abounded, when the spirit of oneness and understanding prevailed. The people have suffered disastrously when communal thinking and casteism have held sway over the minds of men. Let us remember that we have to be vigilant to guard against, and to eliminate, any manifestation of communal outlook. Communalism is alien to the spirit of India, to our traditions and heritage, and will only spell ruin wherever it exists.

Thrissur also represents the fine human resources of our country today in terms of the work being done by Indians from the State of Kerala in all the manifold fields of nation-building activity.

Thrissur is regarded as the cultural capital of Kerala and the Kerala Sahitya Akademi, Sangeet Natak Akademi and Lalit Kala Akademi find a natural environment here. Thrissur also has the historic St. Thomas College, the agriculture university and engineering college and is an important centre of Ayurvedic studies. Distinguished citizens from this region have rendered invaluable service during the freedom struggle and after India became Independent. They continue to bring honour to their country and their city.

The true ethos of Thrissur, the real soul of the city, consists of the spirit of pure secular thought, humanism, oneness, tolerance, understanding and excellence. This is your heritage, it is a heritage which enriches India's personality and position in the comity of Nations.

It is important therefore that we should understand, and appreciate, the nature of the inner force, the vital force, of this city.

As I view it, there is here a process of intense, constant and multi-directional activity. There is the effervescence and vibrance of human endeavour, surcharged with positive energy and rich talent. This vital force is like an entity constantly renewing itself and its environment and retaining an immutable connection with the power of ancient ideals. The atmosphere that this innate source of strength and progress requires, for uninhibited expression, is an atmosphere that Thrissur has been able to provide, and which explains the heights achieved by the citizens of their innumerable pursuits of constructive nature.

The city fathers of municipal councillors and leaders of this urban society have a major responsibility to discharge in this context.

This ranks highest with your duties for providing the required level of physical amenities to the people of the city. However successful the Council may have been in attending to the needs of citizens in regard to their requirements of water supply, sanitation, primary health, primary education, road building and so on,

the growing city perpetually requires an increasing level of services. Paucity of resources for the work that is necessary, poses a major problem. Municipal administration involves much heart-break, tension and frustration. Municipal Councillors participate very closely and directly with the very life of the people of the city. I am reminded of some words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who, as you know, was associated with municipal administration. In October 1952, Panditji had said: "I have been deeply interested in Corporations and Municipalities of the like ever since the days, long ago, when I was myself connected with a Municipality. Somehow these bodies seem to bring one in more intimate touch with the life of the people than other kind of work." There is thus both the challenge and responsibility that municipal councils have to bear.

I would also like to touch upon and draw your attention to a critical responsibility of Municipal Councillors as articulated by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi himself. Speaking to Municipal Corporators of Bombay Municipal Corporation on 18 April, 1931, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Make the cause of the poor your own. I want you to identify yourself with the thousands of workers of the city. I want you to make them feel that the Corporation is their's as it is of the well-to-do." Going beyond this, in a speech at Madura, reported in 'Young India', Mahatma Gandhi said: "Every Municipal Councillor should consider himself a trustee and custodian of...public morals. It is high time that Municipal Councillors understand the responsibility attached to their office."

These words of the Mahatma are a typical example of the directness of his thought—thought which has a continuing relevance for us, and if we think deeply about his words, we would appreciate many significant aspects of the responsibility we bear as representatives of the people.

I am deeply grateful to Shri M. Kesavankutty Menon, Municipal Chairman, and the Thrissur Municipal Councillors for the signal honour they have done me in this the 70th year of the Municipal Council. I am sure that the people of Thrissur and indeed the people of Kerala would strive with all their manifest talents and energies for national progress and true development with continuing success in the months and years to come.

Education for Socio-economic Progress

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be with you for the centenary celebrations of the Bharat Parikrama of India's widely revered saint, Swami Vivekananda, who ranks with the greatest religious seekers, spiritual teachers and social reformers of all time. A truly outstanding son of our country, Swamiji's was a uniquely magnetic personality exuding vibrant energy and indomitable strength.

Swami Vivekananda's broad vision encompassed several fields and he packed into his short life a range of activities which would have taken others many decades to perform. He was a source of inspiration for those illustrious sons and daughters of India, old and young, whose sacrifices in the national cause led to political independence. Our great country has since made impressive strides in various sectors of economic development and all of us are engaged in the grand task of building a glorious India which Swami Vivekananda foresaw and dreamt of.

We have gathered here today also to commemorate the centenary of Swamiji's Participation in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. What greater satisfaction can an admirer of Swami Vivekananda derive, than recalling his monumental work for the uplift of human society through a sustained inculcation of moral and ethical values and his historic contribution to the emergence of a modern and secular India. I have been attracted to Swami Vivekananda's personality and teachings since my own early days and I wish to express my sincere thanks to the members of the Centenary Celebrations Committee and to all the organizers for having invited me to this memorable function.

The spirit of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda is one universal religion, embodying the principles of a truly spiritual life. During his last illness in 1886, Sri Ramakrishna passed on to his young disciple a divine mission in the fulfilment of which Swami Vivekananda undertook the Bharat Parikrama and travelled extensively abroad. He set in motion a process of national rejuvenation and regeneration directed at ridding society of archaic and

obscurantist practices and spreading the knowledge of *Vedanta*. He believed in building on the foundations of the past, shorn of its shortcomings, and in the power of the spirit which alone can give the fuel for the successful operation of institutions and legislation and the strength and purity of individual character that alone can give life to the building up of a new society.

Swamiji travelled to Varanasi and the *thirthas* in the Himalayas and to Dwarka, holy with the memories and legends of Sri Krishna. At Pune, he was the guest of a towering hero of our freedom struggle, Lokmanya Tilak. A report on his stay in Kerala at that time says: "He had the wonderful faculty of answering many men and many questions at the same time. It might be a talk on Spencer or some thought of Shakespeare and Kalidasa, Darwin's Theory of Evolution, Jewish history, the growth of Aryan civilization, the *Vedas*, Islam or Christianity—whatever the question, the Swami was ready with an appropriate answer."

I think that many of us present here would be interested to know that when Swami Vivekananda reached the house of his host, he was accompanied by a Muslim peon who had been sent to escort him. Swamiji insisted on the peon being first served with food, even though he himself had partaken only a little milk in the last two days. The local citizens found him to be extremely liberal in his views. He wanted women and the members of all classes to receive education and determine their status in the light of the enlightened perception of their own needs and requirements. From Trivandrum, he went on to Rameshwaram and to Kanyakumari, the southernmost tip of the sub-continent, thus completing his great pilgrimage. And it was there, while reflecting and meditating on his beloved Motherland, that he received the enlightenment which gave him his mission in the service of humanity and his place in the history of mankind.

Both in India and abroad, Swamiji upheld the validity of all religions and their right to independent existence. He once concluded a discussion on the universality of religion with the following words:

"Our watchword will be acceptance and not exclusion. Not only toleration but acceptance. Toleration means that I think that you are wrong and I am just allowing you to live. I believe in acceptance. I accept all religions that were in the past and worship them all. I worship God with every one of them, in whatever form they worship Him... Salutation to all the Prophets of the past, to

all the great ones of the present and to all that are to come in the future.”

Swami Vivekananda was steeped in the lore and learning of India, he knew of the ancient basis of our approach to life and of our achievements and he explained these to the people in a language which they understood easily. But he did not limit himself to India and it was because of this that his voice was listened to with great attention in other countries as well. He said: “We should give positive ideas. Negative thoughts only weaken men... If you can give them positive ideas, people will grow up to be men and learn to stand on their own legs. In language and literature, in poetry and arts, in everything we must not point out the mistakes that people are making in their thoughts and actions, but the way in which they will be able to do these things better...”

At the Parliament of Religions, Swamiji, explained how Hinduism was itself a Parliament of Religions and held in equal esteem different paths to God. In the United States, leading newspapers wrote eloquently about him, the *‘New York Herald’* said, “He is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions...” It was now to be his mission to help all men rise to their heights by spiritual education and strive to alleviate the sufferings and remove the ignorance of his own countrymen.

Dr. Annie Besant has thus described her meeting with Swami Vivekananda at the Parliament of Religions:

“A striking figure, clad in yellow and orange, shining like the sun of India in the midst of the heavy atmosphere of Chicago, a lion head, piercing eyes, mobile lips, movements swift and abrupt—such was my first impression of Swami Vivekananda, as I met him in one of the rooms set apart for the use of the delegates to the Parliament of Religions... Purposeful, virile, strong, he stood out, man among men, able to hold his own.”

The news of Swamiji’s thundering success at the Parliament was slow in reaching India but once it became known, it created an outburst of joy and national pride. Many recalled the old prophecy of Sri Ramakrishna: “Naren will shake the world to its foundation.”

We must remember that Swamiji did not stop with preaching the Vedanta which has its origins in the ancient Hindu scriptures but also called other religions to his aid. He had, when speaking of “My Life and Mission” in California in January, 1900, described

as to how he and his brother-disciples received their ideas from Sri Ramakrishna and together agreed that this ideal had to be spread. He continued: "And not only spread but made practical. That is to say, we must show the spirituality of the Hindus, the mercifulness of the Buddhists, the activity of the Christians and the brotherhood of the Mohammedans by our practical lives."

Swami Vivekananda clearly saw the need to employ education as an instrument for social and economic progress. But he scoffed at mere book-learning and memory-training, saying "... We must have life-building, man-making, character-making, assimilation of ideas. If education is identical with information, the libraries are the greatest sages of the world and encyclopaedias are the rishis". He was also an ardent champion of womens' education and often quoted Manu: "Daughters should be supported and educated with as much care and attention as the sons."

Swamiji realized that the foremost quality which a people require is strength and the lesson that he imparted, especially to the youth and the children of India, was the lesson of strength. Some years later, Mahatma Gandhi taught us the same lesson, namely that we should remain fearless. I believe that today, more than ever before, our young men and women have to become more and more familiar with the teachings of Swami Vivekananda and draw inspiration from them. We have to read what he taught and wrote and learn from his teachings. And if we do so, I have no doubt that the difficult problems which face our country will become easier of solution.

I would like to invite your attention to the fact that Swami Vivekananda was, politically, far ahead of his time in the importance he attached to the masses, the indignation he displayed on their exploitation, the pride he showed in India's ancient culture and religion and his burning desire for the country to receive the benefit of western science and technology, without falling into the trap of slavish imitation. I feel that the ideas which he propounded were indeed revolutionary for the India of his day and age and had a tremendous impact on subsequent political thinking and action in our country. He often used to say: "One ounce of practice is worth 20,000 tons of big talk."

Secularism and socialism are not the only fields in which Swami Vivekananda helped in building a climate that obtains in modern India. His understanding of Vedanta and of different religions made him an inveterate opponent of the terrible practice

of untouchability which he strongly denounced. He was also quick to realize that the peace which came from satiation with activity was qualitatively quite different from that which came from helplessness and despair. He, therefore, stood for all such activity as would result in increasing the production and the removal of poverty. To him, however, material development was only a transitional stage towards spiritual development and not a substitute for it. Like Gandhiji, he was in favour of a limitation of material requirements; if he wanted material development, he did so especially for the masses so that they were able to meet their essential needs. Gandhiji wrote about him in 1941: "Surely Swami Vivekananda's writings need no introduction from anybody. They make their own irresistible appeal."

On this occasion, I am reminded also of Swamiji's stirring call to humanity: "Unfurl the banner of love," he thundered, "Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached." The goal, he told his disciples, was the recognition of one's identity with the Universal Reality and, as such, with the identity of everyone else. "If you want to help others" he told them, "your little self must go... In this age, as on the one hand people have to be immensely practical, so on the other hand they have to acquire deep spiritual knowledge." I believe that by saying so, Swami Vivekananda anticipated Acharya Vinoba Bhave who also worked for combining science with spirituality in the modern world.

Swamiji's acute concern for the people stood out when he said, "...Let each one of us pray day and night for the down-trodden millions of India, who are held fast by poverty, priestcraft and tyranny; pray day and night for them. I care more to preach to them, than to the high and the rich... Him I call a *mahatman* who feels for the poor..."

Centuries earlier, in Maharashtra, Sant Tukaram had said: "He who identifies with those who are stricken and destitute should be recognised as wise; divinity may be appreciated therein."

In this centenary year of Swamiji's Bharat Parikrama during the course of which he stood on this very soil of Kerala, and of his brilliant participation in the Parliament of Religions, we do well to recall his teachings and his life's work in the service of humanity. Just as the Parikrama helped to weave the threads of our cultural unity into a harmonizing pattern and became an important link in the re-awakening of our national consciousness, so also, at

Chicago, Swamiji gave a new perspective of Religion and introduced India to the West, indeed to Indians themselves. But it is not enough to only revere the person Vivekananda, it is the ideas, the principles Swami Vivekananda put before us that need to be understood, accepted and implemented. Only then would we have truly paid homage to Swamiji's hallowed memory and done justice to his legacy.

Let us, therefore, resolve anew to act upon Swami Vivekananda's inspiring message and endeavour to become strong of heart, strong of mind and have the strength never to submit to injustice and wrong-doing. It is my prayer and fervent hope that our countrymen of today and tomorrow, particularly our children and our youth, will try to emulate the shining example of Swami Vivekananda in successfully accomplishing the challenging tasks of national re-construction and social change that lie ahead.

May I also once again express my gratitude to the Centenary Celebrations Committee and the numerous devotees and admirers of Swami Vivekananda who are present today and thank them for their kind invitation. I extend my greetings and felicitations to all of you and pray for your success and happiness in the years to come.

Fostering International Peace and Understanding

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in conferring upon Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, the 1991 Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding.

I recall that as Chairman of the Jury for the Award, when I had suggested Smt. Asaf Ali's name, there was immediate unanimity, and it is a matter of great happiness for all of us that Arunaji is here in person to receive the Award.

Since 1965, when the Jawaharlal Nehru Award was first constituted, only two other Indians have received it : Mother

Teresa in 1969, and Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1984, after her martyrdom.

In honouring Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, we reiterate our commitment to the values and goals of those who have lived a life of selfless service and sacrifice and have striven to build a better world.

Aruna Asaf Ali personifies the qualities of courage and of devotion to the principles of truth, equality, justice and freedom; and her life and work, before and after Independence, in India and around the globe, comprise an inspiring legend.

Fifty years ago, in 1942, the nation was impassioned by the events of the Quit India Movement, an upsurge that had commenced with Mahatma Gandhi's clarion call, and with Arunaji's hands unfurling the tri-colour. While the great national leaders were held incarcerated, Arunaji had waged a heroic struggle and had refused to give herself up—not even when Gandhiji urged her to. In a letter from Pune, on 30th June, 1944, Bapu, addressing Arunaji as 'Chiranjivi Daughter Aruna', wrote : "This struggle has been full of romance and heroism. You are the central figure. God be your sole guide."

That struggle which engaged Arunaji and which so deeply engrosses her to this day, is a struggle in the larger cause of human dignity. It is important to appreciate that human dignity is at once the goal and the beginning of a better future for all—a life of peace, understanding, equity, friendship and cooperation : between human beings, nations and peoples around the world.

I remember Jawaharlal Nehru had articulated his concept of One World in the Constituent Assembly in the emerging moments of India's Independence. Nehru had said: "We have to labour and to work... to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are also for the world, for all nations and peoples... Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now and so also is disaster in this One World which can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

It is this spirit which has been with Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali in her life-long struggle, and has been expressed in her work in various dimensions. As early as in November 1947, she had participated in a gathering in Mexico on the occasion of the

General Conference of the UNESCO, as a member of the Indian Delegation led by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. Her contribution so moved Dr. Radhakrishnan that he sent a message to Jawaharlal Nehru, saying : "May I convey to you the remarkable impression which Mrs. Asaf Ali made by her spirited appeal for the common man. I wish you were here to share in our joy at her success. We, the members of the Indian Delegation are quite proud of her contribution." Thereafter, from time to time over the decades, Arunaji has been called upon for tasks of international importance in bilateral as well as in multi-lateral spheres. The great esteem and respect in which she is held in numerous countries bestowed added urgency and significance to the message that she took with her on various missions. Aruna Asaf Aliji has inspired constructive effort by social and political activists, the factory workers, agricultural labourers, trade unionists, writers, poets, artists, students and children, men and women, the young and the old—in India and beyond in many countries. The cause of freedom, equity and security for the people of the Third World has claimed her attention for decades. Arunaji's writings and speeches and her contribution in building up the *Link* and *Patriot* group of publications reflect her constant endeavour to enhance popular perception of the basic values, attitudes and objectives crucial to achieving the higher goal of human dignity and international understanding. All her efforts are animated by the central concern to build a better world and time and again Arunaji has reminded people of Jawaharlal Nehru's words, his ideals and his dreams.

Few people have had a more comprehensive, sensitive and personal understanding of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru than Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali. She had said once: "Some of my most vivid memories are those associated with Jawaharlal Nehru and after him Indira." It was only natural that, being moved by similar ideals, Arunaji should have taken counsel from Panditji. She has written: "I would take my doubts and my criticisms to Jawaharlal. He found time... to hear me patiently and to explain the compulsions in a situation as he saw them." She has referred to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru as "our guides who gave us our first lessons in patriotism and internationalism."

For more than six decades Aruna Asaf Ali has struggled—through an eventful public life in India and overseas, imposing almost unbearable strains and taxing demands on her time, energy and health. During critical periods in our history, India,

and other countries in the Third World, have secured significant gains from her endeavours towards building and safeguarding international understanding, friendship and cooperation.

Even now, though so frail in health, Arunaji retains the ability of being intensely involved in every issue having a bearing on the lives of the masses, of viewing every subject in the light of the highest moral and ethical standards and in the simplest, most basic, human terms.

From Arunaji one may learn how to think deeply, objectively and with sensitivity, how to develop and magnify personal resolve into a powerful force for public good, how to lead and to find sublimation in Service, and yet retain a certain inner tranquillity of mind and equipoise of spirit.

The younger generation, particularly, would find it rewarding to inculcate the outlook of service, self-dedication to steady, purposeful, constructive activity for social good, and a deep inner resolve to cope with and surmount every difficulty in this path—that have formed a consistent theme in Arunaji's life and work.

I greatly value my own personal association with her over many years and it has naturally given me great joy to have conferred upon her the 1991 Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding.

I would like to express my prayer, on behalf of all of us, that she regains her health and continues to guide the young and the old towards the transformation of India and the world in fulfilment of the dreams of Bapu and Jawaharlal Nehru.

For Building a Better World

TODAY IS THE 75th birth anniversary of Smt. Indira Gandhi, and, my mind is flooded with thoughts and memories about the enormously significant contribution made by that outstanding world leader, her radiant personality, and her dreams about the future of India and indeed of humanity. Indira Gandhi gave strength to, and guided, the processes towards positive change

Presentation of Indira Gandhi Peace Prize posthumously to Shri Rajiv Gandhi, New Delhi, 19 November 1992

initiated by Bapu and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Hers was a life-long struggle to fulfil a vision of a strong, united, progressive and prosperous India, wedded to the ideals of democracy, secularism and social justice—thus equipped to ensure a life of dignity to all in India, and enabling India to serve as a force for the advancement of humankind.

Peace, Disarmament and Development were identified by Smt. Indira Gandhi as innate and vital needs of all nations and peoples. This approach flowed from her understanding of Jawaharlal Nehru's deep and far-sighted perceptions, as well as from her own comprehension of the human condition.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had spoken of the oneness of human destiny. Smt. Indira Gandhi had explained this further. In her address to the UN General Assembly on 23 October 1970, she had said: "Political freedom is incomplete if it does not lead to wider horizons of economic opportunity. This is possible only with peace. Hence, apart from preventing suffering and dispelling fear and uncertainty, Disarmament would make a decisive difference to Development." Consistently, her approach was towards the attainment of peace in recognition of its strategic importance for the future of humankind in tune with the yearning of all human beings for true happiness. She had said: "Peace is the hinge of history today." And had stressed that: "Work for peace has to be many-sided—the ending of racialism and dominance, working together to reduce economic disparities, incessantly seeking political solutions to conflicts, and a dedicated effort for disarmament. The responsibility of the powerful may be greater and more direct. Yet, none of us dare shirk our share of it. For none of us can escape the consequences of failure to keep peace.

Some months ago, as Chairman of the International Jury for the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development, I felt deeply that the 1991 Prize should rightly go to Shri Rajiv Gandhi whose dedication and leadership, in taking forward the tasks set by Jawaharlal Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi, must today be recognized as historic and of far-reaching consequence to the lives of all of us who have gained immeasurably by the leadership and sacrifice of these great personages. It was heart-warming to see the spontaneity and unanimity with which all members of the Jury endorsed this view.

Rajiv Gandhi's was a valiant struggle: at one time, on a large number of fronts. He had a vision of the growth of India and other nations of the world in a mutually supportive atmosphere of understanding, friendship and cooperation, equity and justice, respect for cultural heritage and the positive strengths of modernity. He stood and fought for national unity, indeed for human unity, secularism, brotherhood, peace and progress. He had said, in April, 1986, in a meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Countries in Delhi : "Change is inevitable in human affairs. New challenges arise, as do new opportunities. The task of statesmen is to channel change for the welfare of humankind."

He had addressed this task with courage, fortitude and a profound sense of personal responsibility and mission, characteristic of his distinguished forebears. He strove to so build our nation that India should enter the 21st century as a strong, stable, secular, democratic and united nation, forceful in the cause of a better world for all.

His five years as Prime Minister were marked by a decisive drive for modernization and economic growth despite various natural calamities. Recognizing the importance of providing responsive administration, he personally led a nation-wide initiative to gear up the apparatus for district and rural administration. All matters concerning the day to day life of the masses received his attention. He envisaged massive induction of science and technology and acceptance of modern methods of management. The technological missions he set up to accelerate development in such critical areas as literacy, drinking water, edible oils and telecommunications, comprised distinctive and effective initiatives. He encouraged endeavour in the field of science and technology with a view to addressing the problems of poverty, disease and imbalanced development. Agriculture, industry and the tertiary sectors of the economy received his creative impetus. He nurtured and promoted nation-wide awareness of our rich cultural heritage with a view to strengthening the emotional unity of the people of India. Untiringly, he stressed the need for secularism which he emphasised as the very basis of our nation. With regard to the functioning of our Parliamentary democracy, the lowering of the voting age and the passage of anti-defection legislation comprise initiatives of enduring significance towards magnifying the ambit of our democratic system and providing wholesome parameters to political dynamics. Towards this objective he also struggled for

democratic decentralization and Panchayati Raj. Strengthening India, Rajiv Gandhi worked for Peace in India's neighbourhood.

He responded to the calls of neighbouring countries for assistance by signing the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987 with a view to bringing peace to the troubled Island and providing succour to the beleaguered Tamils of Sri Lanka. In the case of the Maldives he despatched emergency aid to forestall the attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this friendly neighbour.

With abiding commitment to the purpose underlying the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation, he played a major role in defusing tensions and promoting regional cooperation between the member countries.

His visit to Beijing in December 1988 is recognized by the Chinese people, by ourselves, and by the world, as a turning point in the history of our relations with this great neighbour of India.

The warming of relations with the USA and the sense of maturity that Rajiv Gandhi's premiership witnessed in the bilateral relations with the United States are a major contribution which will have continuing significance in the years to come not just for Indo-US relations but for the world as a whole.

Building on strong existing foundations, Rajiv Gandhi signed the historic Delhi Declaration of November 1986 reflecting a seminal initiative towards the building of a non-violent world.

He set up the Africa Fund of which he was Chairman, to assist the front-line States to fight the pernicious system of Apartheid. It was Shri Rajiv Gandhi's personal effort which led to the hastening of the process of granting freedom to Namibia.

Rajiv Gandhi's concerns and aspirations had a global, and far-sighted perspective. The Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative on Disarmament initiated by Shri Rajiv Gandhi was a practical and time-bound framework for dealing with perhaps the most important problem facing the world.

On North-South issues, South-South cooperation and issues relating to the environment, Shri Rajiv Gandhi asserted India's voice, which was listened to with great respect at the United Nations, NAM and Commonwealth fora and was regarded as articulating the concerns and hopes of all who believed in peace and progress. He was instrumental in launching the Planet Protection Fund and obtaining wide international endorsement of his

visionary plans at the Belgrade NAM of September 1989, and the CHOGM at Kuala Lumpur in October 1989.

The presence of world leaders from as many as 63 countries at Shri Rajiv Gandhi's funeral was a fitting tribute to the remarkable contribution that he made for the well-being of humankind.

The direction, intensity and resolution in his approach is reflected in a speech at the Second Summit meeting of the Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative on Peace and Disarmament at Ixtapa, Mexico on 7th August, 1986, Rajiv Gandhi had said: "Humanity has the right to live, the right to hope, the right to a future. The Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative is a proclamation of these primary rights... Our Movement represents humanity's will to survive."

The Award of 1991 Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development recognizes the tremendous value of his work, in tune with human ideals that have been identified in India as vital from ancient times,—ideals that give this age of science and technology meaning and purpose. Now is a time when India has to take forward the work that remains. The world is changing. The aggregate human condition now is more supportive than before for the growth of peace. Now, more than ever, all nations and peoples must cooperate to consolidate the forces of peace and nourish the processes that enhance the qualitative and quantitative scope of peace and human well-being.

India must play her rightful role at this juncture in world history by strengthening processes that lead to harmony and synthesis in all spheres—political, social, cultural and economic.

India can do so as a people and a nation of one mind, nurturing national solidarity and progress on the time-tested and indispensable basis of democracy, secularism and social justice, bringing to bear our ethos of spirituality and pluralism in this age of science, and labouring and striving for the peace, prosperity and happiness of all humankind.

As Rajiv Gandhi had said: "Progress assumes survival. It is for our children that we plan and build. But will they have a tomorrow?... Each one of us has a duty—to do every thing we can to turn the face of humankind from darkness towards light, from death towards life."

I pay respectful tribute to the memory of Smt. Indira Gandhi and of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and pray that in the years and decades to come we will build further, dynamically, in the light of their vision.

Communalism—Threat to National Fabric

TOMORROW OUR NATION celebrates Republic Day. On this auspicious occasion, I have great pleasure in extending to you and to Indians beyond our shores, my greetings and good wishes.

Forty-three years ago, on the 26th of January, 1950, the Constitution of India came into force—representing the values, goals and solemn resolve of the people of India—mindful of history, and conscious of the challenges and the vistas ahead.

That ethos which sustained India over thousands of years: immanent, invincible and strength-giving—finds expression in our Constitution and lights the path towards the well-being, dignity and happiness of all.

The ideals, philosophy and vision, innate to our Constitution, integrate us as one nation and make our dreams for a better future attainable.

By firm adherence to the composite thought in our Constitution, notwithstanding a wide range of obstacles, we have made decisive progress in many spheres of national reconstruction. Innumerable successes, big and small, have been gained by patriotic effort vitalized by the practical idealism in our Constitution.

Conversely, almost all our problems have resulted from inadequacies or failures in availing of the wisdom of our Constitutional thought.

Fellow citizens, ponder carefully over what I say, for today, having come thus far since Independence, India stands at the cross-roads of history; and our destiny will be as we shape it to be.

Two prospects have emerged before us. On the one hand is the path of understanding, peace, mutual accommodation, friendship, cooperation and common endeavour—each strengthening the other. This will confer to every community, region and individual, in our vast and populous nation, a position of dignity, prosperity and happiness. Progressively we would surmount every ill and problem besetting us—be it poverty, prejudice, insecurity, ignorance or disease. Dynamically, our nation can develop and transform itself and ascend from strength to strength and be a force for the good of all humanity. This vision is within our reach. We have the talents, the resources and the chance to secure it. Our ancient land has been thus before. Our Constitution is a beacon to this very destination.

The other prospect, is of endless strife, suffering, agony and misery : wrought by narrow thinking, word or deed. Need anyone explain this? How much more should we be witness to before we decide to abjure communalism, and unmask and shun the purveyors of that poisonous creed?

Communalism poses a devastating threat to every individual, to every sector : social, economic and political; indeed, to our entire nation. Those misguided few who spread communal prejudice and engage in or incite communal violence have to be recognized as ushering ruination for all—including themselves. Subscribing to communal outlook in India is a supreme folly. But some persist in it and some others fall prey to it.

Communalism begets communalism. Ultimately, none gains; all lose, when communal thinking holds sway over us.

The recent recrudescence of rioting and violence is telling proof, if any further proof were required, of the inevitable tragic consequences of communalism. My heart goes out to the innocents, the women and the children victimized. Who can recompense the loss of life or of dignity, or of an atmosphere of kinship and oneness marred by fear and suspicions? The masses, the poor, and the weak suffer the most. They are the first to be struck and the last to recover. Who can adequately reimburse their losses in wages, livelihood and shelter?

It is essential for all to comprehend the criticality of this issue in other crucial respects also. So long as the problem of communalism vexes us, our capability as a nation is curtailed in key tasks of building a self-reliant, competitive economy, creating gainful employment, enhancing per capita income levels and developing the aggregate wherewithal of a Welfare State. The total focus of national attention is diverted. Our national security is rendered vulnerable to the machinations of elements from outside.

As the Constitutional head of our Republic, I shall endeavour to do all I may to safeguard the national interest and the well-being of all in our composite, pluralistic culture and polity.

Friends, India has been the home of all the great religions, and the simple truth is that there is a oneness : of inner doctrine and ethical teaching : in all religions. We, Indians, must need appreciate this. Religion is therefore as far apart from communalism as the sacred is from the profane, or good is from evil.

As one people, one nation, one Republic, we must set ourselves against communalism, and stamp out every vestige of it. We must be resolute and unflinching in this. Only then shall we be able to save and serve our diverse modes of devotion, true to our faith and our Motherland.

We shall prove ourselves in the period ahead. Dutifully, as the mother tends her child, the farmer his field, the worker his machine, the soldier his weapon, so should every organ and entity in our system of Parliamentary democracy strive zealously and meticulously to fulfil the designated role in the various inter-linked areas of national reconstruction. The Legislature, Executive and Judiciary have an increasingly important role to play—as does the Press with full scope for performance of rightful duties. Veterans of our struggle for freedom, the civil services, armed forces, our scientists, engineers and teachers, doctors, writers, poets and artistes, our social and voluntary activists, and specially, the women of India, comprise a tremendous wealth of talent, energy and dedication. It is essential that all participate with determination to uphold the Rule of Law, to safeguard and enlarge the gains of freedom and to give to the children of India an environment of harmony, unity, productive endeavour and happiness. Let us in the spirit of national solidarity strive together to fulfil the creative agenda for a new India—an India at peace with herself, true to her time-tested ethical and moral values, manifesting her

unique genius in a myriad ways, an India the world can look up to.

Friends, on behalf of all of you, I would like to express our faith in the resilience of the ethos of India, our nation's inner strength and determination to overcome every challenge and fully secure our clearly defined national goals.

The eyes of the world look upon us. The message of India to our neighbourhood and to the rest of the world has been and will be of peace, friendship and cooperation. We shall continue to play a vigilant and creative role in world affairs for the good of all humankind.

Tomorrow, on our 44th Republic Day, when we unfurl the national tri-colour, let us salute our flag of freedom, reiterate our national resolve, and re-dedicate ourselves to our Motherland.

Brothers and sisters, may reason guide us, and may every citizen be a light unto himself and a friend to his neighbour. So may India be glorious.

Democracy, Interdependence and International Cooperation

I HAVE IMMENSE pleasure in associating myself with this function for the inauguration of the 89th Inter-Parliamentary Conference in New Delhi. I extend, on behalf of the Republic of India, Parliament, the Government and the people of India, my warm greetings and good wishes to all the distinguished delegates. I should like to thank the Honourable Speaker of the Lok Sabha for his thoughtful invitation to me to be with you on this important occasion.

The Conference of Inter-Parliamentary Union, in my view, is much more than an assemblage of representatives of countries

having democratic political systems. The Conference should provide a clear focus on the cause of Democracy itself, the values, processes and goals of Democracy, the dangers: visible and invisible, encountered, and the needs of Democracy, that all of us, together, must serve to fulfil.

Central to our endeavours, is the task of building a better future—a life of dignity, creativity, prosperity and happiness for every human being in an atmosphere of harmony and positive advancement. The democratic approach arises from an awareness of the importance of the rights of the human being and an understanding of the truth that the general well-being of all can be attained only when human rights are accorded their due position in our polity.

During this century, political and constitutional developments in different countries around the world have highlighted two important aspects. There is increased realization that recognition of human rights and enforcement of human rights leads to stability in society and makes for upward mobility of weaker sections. There is fuller comprehension of the truth that a society that is both stable and progressive can be built only if human rights are recognised and enforced. Secondly, the experience of political systems in which human rights were either denied or suppressed, is that such systems, inevitably, failed; and the constitutional, legal and political aberrations under which these systems functioned proved to be both unjust and inexpedient. The democratic outlook is strengthened by such awareness of experiences accumulated through history in different parts of the world.

It needs to be acknowledged that the cause of democracy has been served by enlightened thinkers and leaders from various parts of the world, whose efforts resulted in definitive progress of enduring significance. Certain major events such as the Glorious Revolution which led to the presentation of the Bill of Rights of 1688 in Britain, the American War of Independence of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789 which led to the declaration of Human Rights, and the non-violent struggle for freedom in India culminating in India's Independence in 1947, may justifiably be perceived as integrated events in world history. These represent decisive advances in a global process taking humankind closer to the goal of an ideal human society. Today the democratic state should be seen as having an ideological framework resulting from the

contributions of many. Every gain in the cause of democracy benefits all. Equally, every injury to this cause affects all.

There is an imminent need at this stage for us to realise that safeguarding the wherewithal of democracy is a common concern of humankind. Democratic theory has focussed extensively on the role of leadership, Parliamentary institutions, development indices, and the character of the state, for assessing and spelling out the needs of building a healthy democratic system. However, democratic theory, hitherto, in my view, has not adequately touched upon the role of external strategic influences in the making or marring of the democratic process. Very serious analysis and assessment is necessary of the effects of external influence.

The essential features of a democratic state, in terms of the recognition and enforceability of human freedoms, the basic element of truth and transparent openness of society—these, the strengths of democracy, become sometimes its points of vulnerability. Elements exist which attempt to utilise the basic attributes of a democratic state to thwart and destroy its natural prospects, and cause havoc and ruin.

Friends, today we must realise that the problem of international terrorism, particularly terrorism sponsored from outside by another State should be seen as a grave threat to the cause of Democracy per se. It should not be viewed merely as an isolated and localised problem without larger ramifications. The deaths of innocent people and destruction to personal and public property wrought by such elements is a loss suffered by all. We must identify, condemn and eliminate such elements wherever these lurk as being the real outlaws of human society, menacing the very future of human civilisation.

All nations, all peoples share a common destiny. In this very hall, in 1947, the outstanding statesman and world leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (whose year of birth, 1889 is that of the IPU, also) had expressed an immutable truth when he spoke of the concept of One World. He had said: "Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is Freedom, so is Prosperity now, and so also is Disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments." He had articulated a doctrine of permanent relevance, and had reiterated an approach more valid than ever in regard to diverse tasks crucial to the progress and prosperity of nations around the world.

Perception of the need of genuine inter-dependence is critically important when we analyse, and attempt solutions to, the problems of poverty, disease, backwardness and violence in our One World. Leaders attending the Conference can individually and collectively make a very important contribution by giving greater impetus to the new current of world opinion that genuine inter-dependence is expedient in terms of practical considerations of immediate policy as much as from an appreciation of the ultimate object of human endeavour.

Just as we address ourselves to enhancing the levels of consciousness and of political mobilisation to overcome inequality, underdevelopment, disease and conflict, we must come together, work together, to create greater awareness of the benefits that all stand to gain from genuine inter-dependence. We should do so particularly in the political, economic and technological spheres for peace, disarmament and development, safeguarding our common environment, and combating common threats to our value-systems. The democratic states must lead and set the direction and the pace of world-wide effort in this respect. This should be regarded as a matter of crucial contingent choice for the good of humankind.

Distinguished delegates, you have a heavy agenda ahead of you for deliberation during your Conference. Hailing from different parts of the globe, from diverse cultures and climes, all of us are yet united in our commitment to democratic values, to the democratic outlook and to a common vision of a better future for humankind. As you give consideration to important issues concerning peace, disarmament and development, tasks that are achievable through the democratic process, I am confident that the Conference will beam a powerful message to the world of our common determination to prove the supremacy of democratic ideals for human advancement, and our united resolve to fight sinister elements contriving to destroy all that we labour to create.

A verse, from literature recorded over six thousand years ago, comes to mind. Our ancient sages have said in the *Rg. Veda*:

“सं गच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।
 समानं मंत्रम् अभिमंत्रये वः समानेन वो हविषा जुहोभि ।
 समानी व आकुतिः समाना हृदयानि वः
 समानम् अस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ।”

*Being sworn in as the President of India, New Delhi,
25 July 1992*



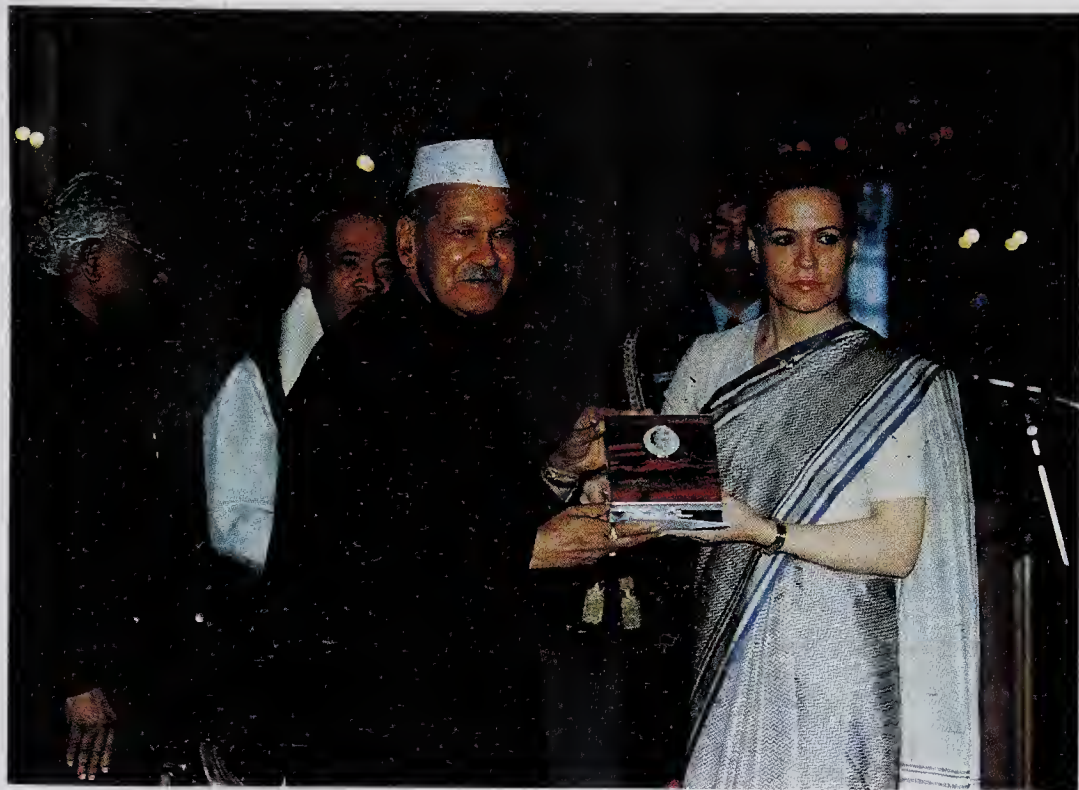
*Addressing the 50th Anniversary of the Quit India
Movement, New Delhi, 8 August 1992*

*At a reception with award-winning teachers,
New Delhi, 5 September 1992*



*At the All Assam Freedom Fighters Convention,
Nowgong, 18 October 1992*

*Mrs. Sonia Gandhi receiving the Indira Gandhi Peace
Prize awarded posthumously to Shri Rajiv Gandhi,
New Delhi, 19 November 1992*



*With folk-dancers at the Mughal Gardens, New Delhi,
1 February 1993*

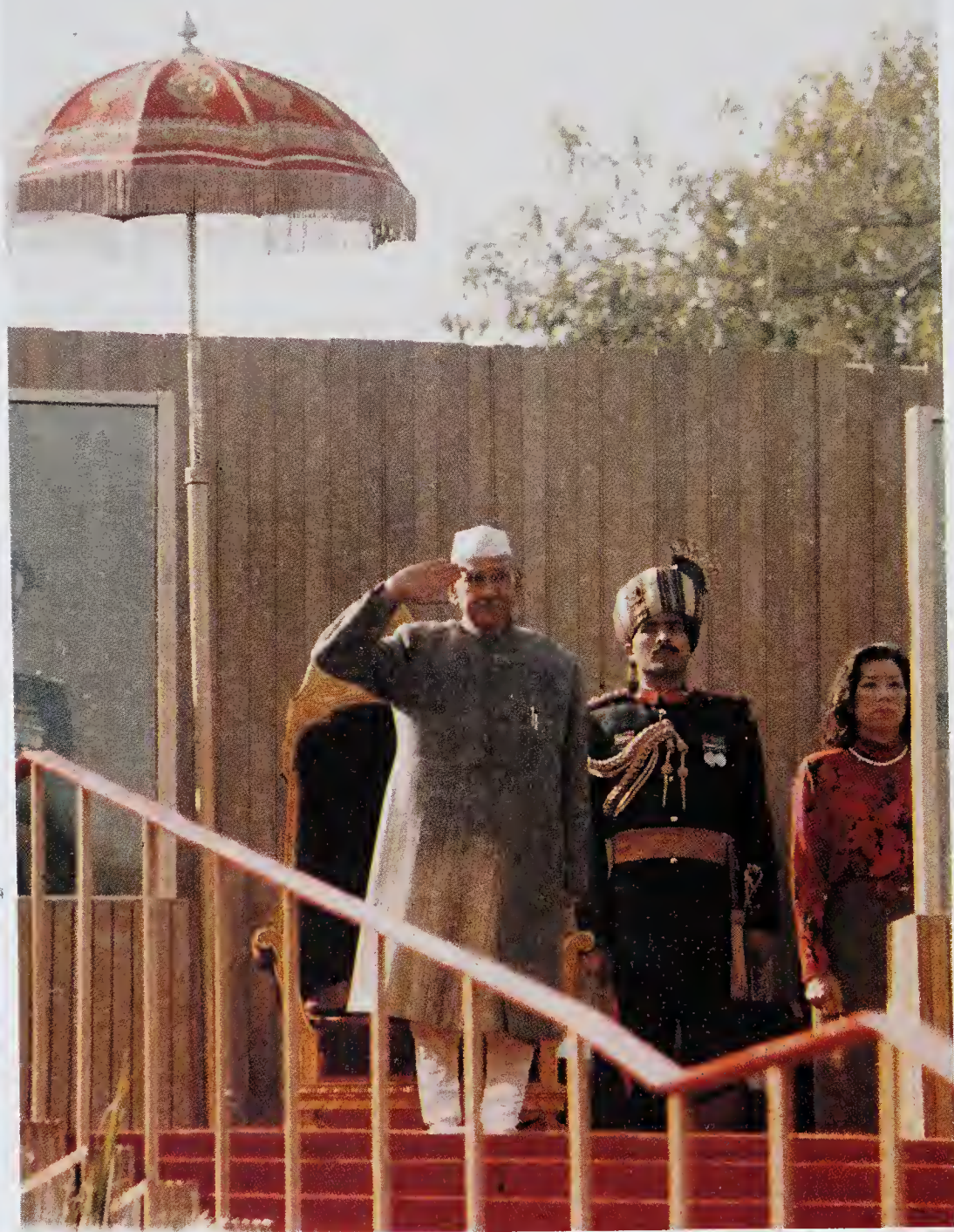


*Unveiling the portrait of Shri Rajiv Gandhi in the
Central Hall of Parliament, New Delhi,
20 August 1993*

*Being conferred the honorary degree of 'Vachaspati',
New Delhi, 3 December 1993*



*At the inauguration of the Third National Games,
Pune, 16 January 1994*



*Taking salute at the Republic Day Parade,
26 January 1994*

With bravery award-winning children during the Republic Day celebrations, New Delhi, January 1994



Exchanging Id greetings, New Delhi, 14 March 1994

*Recording Independence Day message to the nation,
New Delhi, 12 August 1994*



*Conferring the Nehru Award for International
Understanding on Mr. Maurice Strong, New Delhi,
17 November 1994*

“Assemble, speak among yourselves as one, be united in your minds, partake together of common benefits,

May your aims be one and true,

May your assembly be synthesised, harmonious,

A common purpose do I lay before you; address your endeavours unitedly,

Common be your aim, and your hearts united;

May you be of one mind that all may gain true happiness.”

With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the 89th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. May your deliberations be significant.

For a United and Prosperous India

ON THE 46TH Anniversary of our Independence Day, I have great pleasure in extending to you my warmest greetings and felicitations.

I pay respectful homage to our great national leaders, martyrs and freedom fighters who found sublimation in the cause of freedom, and whose suffering and sacrifice energized national awakening, mass mobilization and liberation.

Under the inspiring leadership of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, the spirit of oneness, dedication and national resolve won India, freedom. On the 15th of August, 1947, Bapu had said:

“From today you have to wear the crown of thorns. Strive ceaselessly to cultivate truth and non-violence. Be humble. Be forbearing. The British rule no doubt put you on your mettle. But now you will be tested through and through... Remember, you are... to serve the poor in India’s villages.”

Address to the Nation on the eve of Independence Day, New Delhi,
14 August 1993

Friends, we should remember that the struggle had been waged by the masses in India through satyagraha, with non-violence as the watch-word; it was largely bereft of material or logistical support, and yet the patriots had braved the enormous power and resources of the mightiest empire the world had seen. We should realize, fully, that we won our freedom on the strength of our unity and our capacity for national self-reliance.

Forty-six years have passed since we won Independence, and we have made decisive progress in many spheres of national reconstruction. The power of the people, guided by leaders and Parliamentarians of outstanding stature, has taken India to her present position and strength. Our nation has a tremendous wealth of talented and dedicated men and women comparable with the best in the world. We have before us immense vistas of development and progress. Our national goal is growth with social justice. For our success in this task, national unity and self-reliance comprise vital needs. These were crucial in our struggle for freedom. These are even more crucial now as we strive to safeguard and enlarge the gains of freedom in a changing world environment. We welcome and appreciate help and cooperation from every quarter but ultimately we have to depend primarily on our own resources. We should not forget that those who lean too much on others become weak and helpless themselves.

The great prospects and the challenges ahead call for a resolute effort by one and all : the kisan, jawan and the mazdoor and by every member of our polity : all must participate with new zeal and a sense of mission. The women of India particularly, must attain their due position as equal partners in every sector of nation-building activity. Let each of us, render appropriate service to our country and the people, and not dwell too much on the duty of others.

Two great advantages that our nation is endowed with, will constantly benefit us and lend strength to our efforts to secure our national goals. We should maximize the value of these advantages and guard against their being eroded in any way. I refer first to India's innate urge towards synthesis, harmony and the ability of our people, across the length and the breadth of the country, to live peacefully with each other, assimilate each other's customs and traditions and respect each other's beliefs and faiths. Indeed the people of our country provide a message of great significance to the emerging world community. Pluralism and oneness are

intrinsic features of our heritage, our national life and the base for our future growth. For centuries we have understood the truth of the oneness of the inner doctrine of all religions. Our outlook and approaches have been deeply and positively influenced by this understanding. This comprises a national strength of far-reaching importance. Width of outlook and the spirit of mutual accommodation are essential to us. Indeed no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought and action.

The second major advantage we now enjoy, and must build further upon, is our being wedded to democracy and the Parliamentary form of governance. The steady growth and advance of democratic outlook in our country, acknowledged the world over, is an increasingly effective guarantor of the rights and dignity of every individual and community, State and region, and of the national interest. Our democratic system will progressively ensure the empowerment of the weaker sections, full opportunity for their growth and partaking of the fruits of freedom.

I should like to express therefore my implicit faith in our Nation's capability to cope with and eventually surmount every problem—economic, social or political—and to do so fully in consonance with values central to the profound heritage of our country and the dreams of the martyrs and great leaders of our struggle for freedom.

In the sphere of international relations, India has always stood for the cause of peace, friendship and cooperation with countries in our neighbourhood and nations and peoples around the world. This was expressed by me, and appreciated by the leaderships in Europe and Western and Central Asia, during my recent visit. As a strong, united and prosperous nation, India will always strive to perform a creative role in world affairs. There need be no misgivings in any quarter on this score.

Friends, even as we prepare for the auspicious day, my thoughts are with the many families affected by the floods and by conditions of drought in different parts of our vast country; and the millions that still eke out an existence affected by poverty, illiteracy and disease. As Bapu had taught us, we must resolutely and unitedly endeavour to overcome these problems. Let each of us, pledge to contribute something tangible and meaningful in this sacred task, and strive together to take our great country forward. Let us express our solidarity as Indians, giving strength to one another and advance towards our common destiny.

We are heirs to a great past, and are bound to fulfil the historic mission of building a future even more glorious : a new India, self-reliant, vibrant and progressive, making its rightful contribution for the good of all humankind.

Rajiv Gandhi—a Symbol of Modernisation and Growth

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you this morning for the unveiling of the portrait of Shri Rajiv Gandhi in the Central Hall, Parliament House, on the 49th anniversary of Rajivji's birthday.

Many thoughts about him come to mind. My own memories of Rajivji are from 1952 in Teen Murti House, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was our Prime Minister and Rajiv was a child of just eight years. Over the decades of my association with Panditji, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Feroze Gandhi, it was natural that one came to know Rajivji, and in course of time witnessed his emergence as a leader of our nation—shaping India's destiny and asserting India's influence in world affairs.

Friends, let us remember that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Shri Rajiv Gandhi on many counts, beginning with his leadership during the extremely serious situation following the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. That cataclysmic event had evoked an acute sense of insecurity in the country. Shri Rajiv Gandhi assumed the awesome responsibilities of the Prime Minister at that time of trauma, tragedy and grave risk to the unity and security of our country. Even though severely affected by personal grief, and new to the task of governance, his serenity and clarity of purpose made a profound impression on the public mind. With unflinching fortitude he attended to his duties as a son and as a Prime Minister. He declared: "The nation has placed a great responsibility on me by asking me to head the Government...the foremost need now is to maintain our balance..."

Unveiling the portrait of Rajiv Gandhi in the Central Hall, Parliament House, New Delhi, 20 August 1993

Communal madness will only destroy us... As Prime Minister of India, I cannot and will not allow this."

Shri Rajiv Gandhi evoked a sense of self-assurance and hope in the people. He led his party to an electoral victory that surpassed the level achieved even under Panditji. Indeed he had come to be looked upon as the one leader who, with his youthful dynamism, idealism and attachment to national values, could pioneer pervasive and positive change in the country.

He set himself a very challenging agenda for national reconstruction and building India as a strong, united, peaceful and prosperous nation—indeed a nation respected throughout the world, and contributing to the advancement of human civilization.

For this great task, he determined for himself very severe limits in time. Clearly, he was aware of the persistent threat to his own life. I recall his saying: "People say I hurry too much; that I am impatient. What can I do? I have so little time to do what I must." The attacks on him at Rajghat and in Colombo were grim reminders of the sinister forces at work against him. These incidents, which seriously disturbed us, served only to redouble the intensity of his resolution towards accomplishing his mission in the service of our country and humanity.

Valiantly he had committed himself to a struggle at one time on a large number of fronts. He wanted that India should enter the twenty-first century fully attuned to our time-honoured national values. He said: "India has always stood for certain basic values. These are the values of truth, of non-violence and of one humanity with no differences amongst us." He sought to achieve the ideal of an India harmonising the moral and ethical imperatives of her ancient culture with the momentous pace of technological advance in this age of science.

His five years as Prime Minister were thus marked by a decisive drive for modernisation and economic growth as well as a sensitive effort to nurture nation-wide awareness of the inner values of our profound cultural and spiritual heritage. Recognising the importance of providing responsive administration, he personally led initiatives to gear up the apparatus for district and rural administration. All manner of matters concerning the day to day life of the masses received his devoted attention. He envisaged massive induction of science and technology and acceptance of modern methods of management. The technological missions he

set up to accelerate development in such critical areas as water, edible oil and telecommunications were a daring innovation. He encouraged endeavour in the field of science and technology to address the variegated but inter-connected problems of poverty, disease, illiteracy and imbalanced development. Agriculture, Industry and the tertiary sectors of the economy received his creative impetus. Untiringly, he strove to strengthen the emotional unity of the people of India, and stressed the need for secularism which he emphasised as the very basis for our growth and prosperity as a nation. With regard to the functioning of our Parliamentary Democracy, the lowering of voting age was an important contribution by him towards magnifying the ambit of our democratic system. Although he led a Government with an unprecedented majority in Parliament, backed by nation-wide public support, with remarkable perspicacity he instituted measures intended to provide wholesome parameters to political dynamics. Towards these objectives he also struggled for democratic decentralization and Panchayati Raj.

Dynamism with regard to domestic concerns was matched by his approaches in the sphere of international relations. Shri Rajiv Gandhi readily responded to the calls of neighbouring countries for assistance. He signed the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord in 1987 with a view to bringing peace to the troubled island and providing succour to the beleaguered Tamils of Sri Lanka. In the case of The Maldives, he despatched emergency aid to forestall the attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this friendly neighbour. He had a deep and abiding commitment to SAARC and played a major role in defusing tensions and promoting regional cooperation between the member countries. His visit to Beijing in December 1988 is recognized by the Chinese people and the world as a turning point in the history of our relations with this great neighbour of India.

The Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative on Disarmament pursued by Shri Rajiv Gandhi, was a practical and time-bound framework for dealing with one of the most important problems facing the world. Building on strong existing foundations, Rajiv Gandhi signed the historic Delhi Declaration of November 1986, which proved to be a seminal initiative towards the building of a non-violent world. He set up the AFRICA Fund of which he was Chairman to assist the front-line States to fight the pernicious system of Apartheid. It was Shri Rajiv Gandhi's personal effort which led to the hastening of the process of granting freedom to

Namibia. On North-South issues, South-South Cooperation and issues relating to the environment, Shri Rajiv Gandhi asserted India's voice, which was listened to with respect at the United Nations, NAM and Commonwealth fora. He was instrumental in launching the Planet Protection Fund and obtaining wide endorsement of his visionary plans at both Belgrade NAM of September 1989 and CHOGM at Kuala Lumpur in October 1989.

The presence of world leaders from as many as 63 countries at Shri Rajiv Gandhi's funeral was a fitting tribute to the unprecedented contribution that he made to international affairs in the short space of five years that he was Prime Minister.

Friends, who can ever forget the radiance of his personality, his zeal and cheerfulness which enthused and charmed everyone who met him? He was a deeply caring and thoughtful person and perhaps each one of us here would remember something that he said or did to bring comfort and support.

Today, as we meet to commemorate his memory, I am reminded of the words spoken by Shri Rajiv Gandhi in 1984 on the birth anniversary of his mother, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He had said: "When a person reaches a certain height, it is not the physical presence that matters. What matters is the ideas and the policies he or she stands for." Rajiv Gandhi was martyred at the very altar of Democracy, participating in the process leading to representation of the people's will. To comprehend adequately the crucial role of Shri Rajiv Gandhi with regard to our Parliamentary Democracy, we need to bear in mind the fact that his assassination was a blow aimed at the very body politic of India. Forces inimical to Democracy, to Humanism, to our nation's growth and prosperity, had conspired against India when they attacked him.

Today Shri Rajiv Gandhi is no more with us. But the national ideals and goals that he served, in the tradition set by his distinguished forebears, three of whose portraits already adorn this historic hall, are before us. He had said in March 1987: "We need a new vision of humanity, a vision based on truth and non-violence, a vision that will nourish life in all its myriad beautiful forms...in the unfolding of this vision, the spiritual experience of humankind must play its part."

I pay respectful tribute to the memory of this great leader and wonderful human being whom we all greatly cherish.

Let us strive to carry forward the tasks he had committed himself to with such devotion and courage.

The Vision of Swami Vivekananda

MAY I SAY how glad I am to be with you on this important occasion. I have always looked forward to visiting Bengal and the great metropolis that is Calcutta. Here one breathes in the ambience of the lofty spiritual and intellectual traditions of Bengal, the heritage of art, literature and culture, the enlightened endeavours towards social reform, the heroism and sacrifice during our struggle for freedom, and the resolute advance of the masses manifesting the power of the people in practical tasks of nation-building. I thank the Ramakrishna Mission for associating me with this Conference.

The vision of Swami Vivekananda has been the subject matter of your deliberations over the last eight days or so, involving a wide range of distinguished scholars and thinkers from India as well as from overseas. I have pleasure in extending my greetings to all the participants, and in expressing my sincere appreciation of their learned contributions.

Friends, right from the time when I was a student, I have been deeply moved by the luminance of Swami Vivekananda as reflected by records of his addresses, his letters, prose and poetic writings, his conversations with people, and by words about him by the greatest amongst our national leaders. Bapu had visited Belur Math on 6 February 1921, the birth anniversary of Swami Vivekananda. He was accompanied by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Mohammad Ali. Bapu had said: "I have come here to pay my homage and respect to the revered memory of Swami Vivekananda... I have gone through his works very thoroughly, and after having gone through them, the love that I had for my country became a thousand-fold." Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, with whom Swami Vivekananda had stayed, in Pune, for ten days, had been struck by the radiant wisdom and learning of his young guest whose profound spirituality made a great impression on him. Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore had said: "If you want to know India, study Vivekananda. In him everything is positive...

Vivekananda's gospel marked the awakening of man in his fullness, and that is why it inspired our youth to the diverse courses of liberation through work and sacrifice."

I would like to recall here Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's perceptions about Swami Vivekananda as these bear special interest. He had said:

"I was not a child when he passed away. But I could not see him as I studied in Europe in those days. But whatever he has spoken or written I have read...I would say you must read them, and having read, you must analyse them in your mind... He had a flame in each of his words...there was fire in his heart—the fire of a great personality...putting his heart and soul into the words he uttered...many of my generation were very powerfully influenced by him... He was, I think, one of the great founders of the national modern movement of India, and a great number of people who took more or less active part in that movement drew their inspiration from Swami Vivekananda. Directly or indirectly he has powerfully influenced the India of today. And I think the younger generation will take advantage of this fountain of wisdom, of spirit and fire, that flows through Swami Vivekananda".

The theme of your Conference has been the commemoration of the Chicago Addresses of Swami Vivekananda during the Parliament of Religions in September 1893. His participation in that congregation should be seen in the much larger context of what he had set out to do in the aggregate. He had in mind the initiation of an integrated plan of action involving determined endeavour to effect radical and positive change in a number of inter-connected areas concerning the human condition in totality. Towards this paramount task, a tremendous sense of purpose and of energy flared from within him. He had exclaimed: "I feel a mighty power! It is as if I were about to blaze forth. There are so many powers in me! It seems to me as if I could revolutionize the world."

At Chicago, in the Parliament of Religions, we know, the world knows, that the impact of his personality, the scintillating brilliance and beauty of his expositions enthralled his audience, and word travelled far and wide over the telegraph and newspapers in the Western world about his sensational contribution. Amongst others in that historic assembly listening in rapt

attention to Swami Vivekananda, was Dr. Annie Besant. Dr. Besant wrote about the experience thus: "Enraptured, the huge multitude hung upon his words; not a syllable must be lost, not a cadence missed!...said one, as he came out of the great hall, 'and we send missionaries to his people! It could be more fitting that they should send missionaries to us'."

In his address, Swami Vivekananda had articulated the ancient wisdom and insights of India, the time-honoured philosophy of oneness and harmony within pluralism, the recognition of, respect for, and acceptance of different paths of logical and intuitive access to Absolute Truth. He had quoted the famous *shloka* from the *Rg. Veda* : एकं सद् : "Truth is one, विप्रा बहुदा वदन्ति : the learned may describe it variously". He had quoted the profound perception expressed in a verse from the *Vishnu Sahasranam* (V. 29).

“आकाशात्पतितं तोयं यथा गच्छति सागरम्।
सर्वदेवनमस्कारः केशवं प्रति गच्छति॥”

(Just as water from different sources reaches the sea, so do salutations and prayers in respect of all aspects of diversity reach the Almighty.)

He cited the explicit authority in the eleventh verse in Chapter IV of the *Bhagavad Gita* :

“ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्या पार्थः सर्वशः॥”

Proudly he had proclaimed: "We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true." It is this spirit that is expressed in the philosophies of our seers, in the devotional songs and the prayers of our common people, for centuries past. This outlook has enabled India to become the home and the refuge of all the great religions of the world respected by the broad mass of her people. Swami Vivekananda had also come out strongly against sectarianism, bigotry and fanaticism, and had registered the hope that these narrow, futile and erroneous tendencies would disappear. Every word of his exposition needs to be recalled by us and pondered over. In subsequent addresses—on September 15, 1893 he explained the causes of narrowness and in the truly profound address of September 19, he explained many salient features and recesses of the *Vedic* and *Vedantic* body of thought and defined the characteristics of a religion "whose whole scope,

whole force, will be centred in aiding humanity to realize its own true...nature." On September 26, 1893 he provided a masterly exposition concerning the connection between Buddhism and Brahminism. On September 27, he foretold the maxims : "Help and not Fight", "Assimilation and not Destruction", "Harmony and Peace, and not Dissension" as the eventual hallmarks of every religious community.

I feel Swami Vivekananda's words concerning the inner oneness of doctrine of all religions should fully be comprehended by each one of us. Indeed the identity of thought, the oneness in ethical and moral codes of different religions need to be explained, understood and absorbed. Every religion, for example, stresses the importance of Service. There is a dictum :

“सर्वशास्त्रपुराणेषु व्यासस्य वचनं ध्रुवं।
परोपकारस्तु पुण्याय पापाय परपीडनम्॥”

Amidst all scriptures and *Puranas*, know this statement of Vyasa to be true : "that doing good to others conduces to merit, and doing harm to them leads to sin".

Compare this with the Christian injunction: "Know thou, that in the Service of thy fellowmen, do thou serveth Me", and the Islamic warning: "Not mere professing of the faith, but good works and service of fellowmen is true prayer."

There are innumerable such illustrations that could and should be compiled to foster understanding of the mutuality of apparently different religions.

In a poem written on September 4, 1893, a week before the Chicago Parliament, Swami Vivekananda had sung:

"Thou wert my God with prophets old
All creeds do come from thee;
The *Vedas*, *Bible*, and *Koran* bold
Sing thee in harmony."

His effort constantly was to draw attention to the unifying, harmonizing virtue in the religious thought of all the great persuasions. He said: "My idea is first of all to bring out the gems of spirituality that are stored up in our books, and in the possession of a few only, hidden as it were,—to bring them out; to bring the knowledge out of them... In one word I want to make them popular. I want to bring out these ideas and let them be the common property of all."

At the same time, he stressed the essential aspect of religion as he saw it. He said: "Religion is neither word nor doctrine... It is deed. It is to be and become. It is the whole soul changed into that which is believed..."

In my view Swami Vivekananda was greater than just a visionary idealist steeped in religion of the scriptural form. His whole approach was of one dedicated to building a new world, attending to its most vexatious problems, providing solutions of a feasible, workable form. He was acutely conscious of the enormous scale of poverty, backwardness and disease in India, the abject sense of inferiority amongst the people, the shameful station assigned to women, and the need therefore to organize wide-ranging effort to surmount these problems. He once said: "It is an insult to a starving man to teach him metaphysics". We need a religion which will give us faith in ourselves, a national self-respect, and the power to feed and educate the poor and relieve the misery around"... "We have to give back to the nation its lost individuality and raise the masses."

Forcefully, inspiring, he used to say, "Arise, awake, sleep no more; stop not till the goal is reached. Within each of you there is the power to remove all wants and miseries. Believe this, and that power will be manifested." Often he would quote the popular Sikh saying:

“सवा लाख पर एक चढ़ाऊं। जय गुरु गोविंद नाम सुनाऊं॥”

(When Guru Gobind Singh gives the name, i.e. the initiation, a single man becomes strong enough to triumph over a lakh and quarter of foes.)

A remarkably modernistic appreciation of the true nature of education and its urgent need in India was also consistently expounded by Swami Vivekananda. "Educate, educate! नान्य पन्था विद्यते अयनाय—than this there is no other way"—he exclaimed. "A nation is advanced", he said, "in proportion as education and intelligence spread amongst the masses." He provided remarkably clear and meaningful definitions of education: "What is education? Is it book-learning? No, is it diverse knowledge? Not even that. The training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control and become fruitful is called education." On another occasion he stated: "We want that education by which

character is formed, strength of mind is increased, the intellect expanded, and by which one can stand on one's own feet." The practical, realistic approach is again expressed in the answer he gave once to a question on educational needs in India. He stressed: "We need to study, independent of foreign control, different branches of the knowledge that is our own, with it the English language, and Western science; we need technical education and all else which may develop industries, so that men instead of seeking service, may earn enough." But that these statements have been carefully authenticated and documented, it would amaze not a few that these were made about a century ago, and that too by a *sanyasi*.

Swami Vivekananda's advocacy of the uplift of women and the abolition of casteism is also equally noteworthy. "The uplift of the women, the awaking of the masses, must come first and then only can any real good come about for the country, for India. "यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः" He would quote, "The enlightened are pleased where women are held in esteem."

Friends, any objective review of the towering spiritual, intellectual and pragmatic thinking of Swami Vivekananda would evoke an assessment of conditions obtaining in our own time today, our major problems and prospects, and the direct relevance of Swami Vivekananda's teachings towards the solution of many a vexed issue.

As we look around our country and within, what is it that we see? The world is moving forward. A subtle but significant shift is underway in the relations between nations and peoples. Powerful factors of growth and re-organization and change are being manifested. Asia is resurgent and a new balance is being adjusted as between the West, the continent of Europe, Asia and Africa. India too must organize herself to surge forward true to her potential. We cannot afford to be caught in a quagmire of antediluvian attitudes mainly arising from narrow thinking and failure to appreciate the advantages of unity and harmony.

Among our major problems is that of communal-mindedness. This acts like a powerful poison wherever it is, vitiating the atmosphere, constraining potential for progress, feeding and perpetuating many other ills.

The communal outlook is not supported by the doctrine and tenets of any religion. In fact every religion truly, serves the cause of oneness, harmony, understanding and cooperation. The communal outlook helps none in our country—not even those who for any misguided purpose may seek to derive advantages to themselves from it. Communalism is the bane of our country and a boon only to forces inimical to India, inimical to human progress. We must realize that this is one problem which is essentially in the hands of the people of our country and its leaders to solve. The eradication of communalism can be achieved by fortifying our minds against communal thought, word and deed and by our being determined to resist and to overcome such elements as may persist in pressing communal-mindedness on us.

If India is to grow to her full potential as a strong, united, prosperous nation, a nation attuned to the highest moral and ethical values, true to the genius of her cultural and spiritual heritage, we shall all have to strive each day to build harmony, justice and creative endeavour. Indeed, in a very real way, it is our duty so to strive.

The youth of our country must be in the vanguard of this mission. Let us recall the stirring words of Swami Vivekananda in Calcutta on his return from America: "Be strong... and everything else will follow...you have to do the task. If I die tomorrow the work will not die. There will be thousands coming up to take up the work and carry it further and further... I have faith in my country, and especially in the youth of my country... from the youth of Bengal will come the power which will raise India once more to her proper spiritual place."

I pay my respectful homage to the immortal memory of Swami Vivekananda.

Contribution of Legislatures to National Reconstruction

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be with you for this auspicious and important function. I greatly appreciate the thoughtful invitation to me by the Hon'ble Speaker, Shri Shaikh Hassan Haroon, to lay the foundation-stone of the Assembly Complex. In many respects this project is a significant and prestigious endeavour. I would like to extend to you and to the people of the State my greetings and felicitations on this happy occasion.

January 1994 marks the completion of thirty years in the history of the Legislative Assembly of Goa. We can, with ample justification, be proud of many initiatives undertaken by the Assembly to give material effect to the public interest in diverse spheres of progress and development.

It is a matter of record that right from the first year since it was constituted, this Assembly deliberated and passed legislation critically important for securing the well-being of the people. Agrarian reforms, industrial development, housing, Panchayati Raj, school and higher education, municipal administration, public health, public order and culture are just a few of several major sectors for which new laws were introduced and brought into force. The Assembly has been an effective forum for the articulation of the aspirations of the people, their sentiments and their apprehensions. It has served well as a medium for interaction by different political parties and groups on important matters of urgent public interest. It has mirrored Goan society and culture and has provided a vantage point from which political leadership can mould and mobilize public opinion.

Over the period of the last thirty years of legislative and electoral experience a deeper and far-reaching process has been at work, in that the people of Goa and their representatives in the Assembly have been absorbing, and gaining fuller understanding of the component concepts and the instrumentalities of Parliamentary Democracy. There is wider awareness of the virtues and advantages of this system as well as of its vulnerabilities and

Foundation-stone laying ceremony of Goa Legislative Assembly Complex, Porvorim, 22 January 1994

limitations. Such consciousness, when derived not just from theoretical political science but from extended practical experience, bears special importance. It helps to inculcate and consolidate the attitude of mind, outlook and approach vital to successful working of representative institutions with multi-party participation. Equally, it should sensitize us to the futility of and, indeed, detrimental effect of, tactics and demeanours that interfere with the smooth functioning of the system.

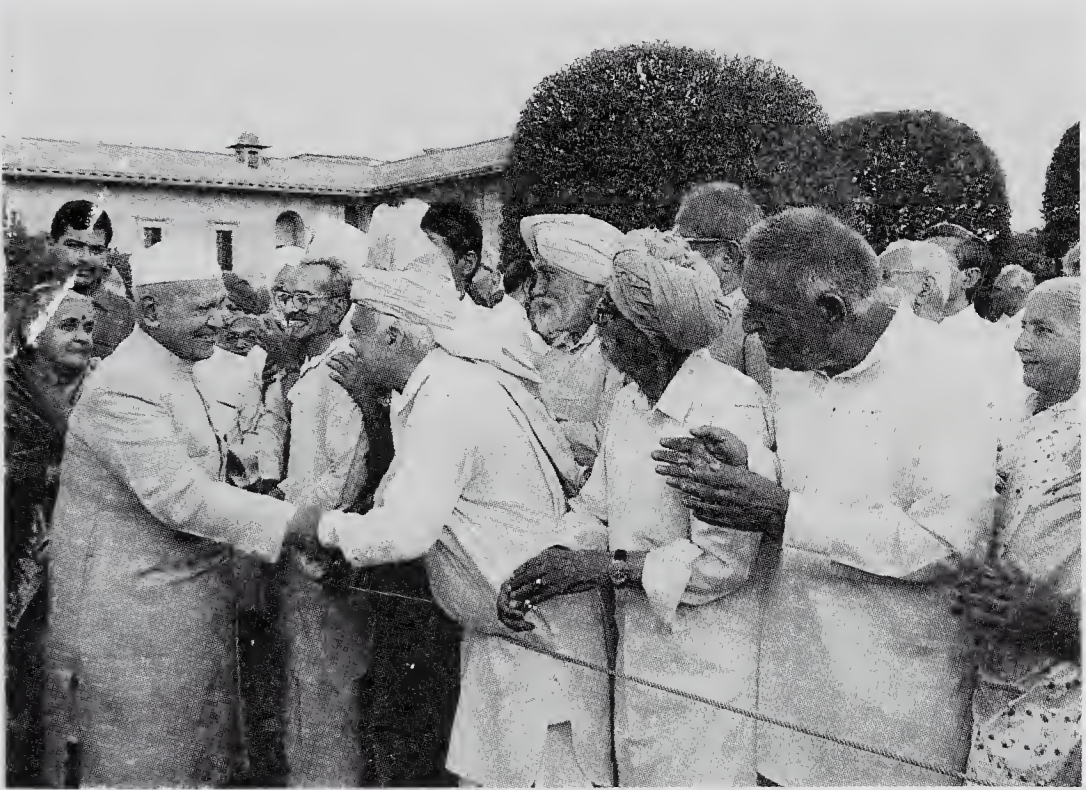
Parliamentary democracy subsists on the basis of appropriately chosen representatives; full, orderly, deliberation and debate; informed and responsive decision-making; accountability of the Government to the legislature, and of members of the legislature to their electorates. All this is necessary; indeed it is indispensable and obligatory, for the system to function. Nor is this all. More is required: in terms of an independent Judiciary, a professionalized Civil Service, a vigilant Press and, above all, enlightened social solidarity and public opinion.

A polity equipped in this way acquires tremendous potential for growth with social justice. Power then is generated for dynamic positive transformation. This has consistently been our nation's goal and endeavour. Our great national leaders during the struggle for freedom and in the years following Independence, had this vision and perspective. It was a very deliberate and carefully considered decision to adopt Parliamentary democracy as the form of governance in our country, as being the system best suited to the people of our country to achieve and safeguard the goals of freedom.

There was clear and complete awareness of the exacting demands that the system would entail. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I recall, would often dwell on the needs of the system. He said: "Parliamentary Democracy is not something which can be created by some magic wand... (It) demands many virtues. It demands, of course, ability. It demands a certain devotion to work. But it demands also a large measure of cooperation, of self-discipline, of restraint... The more the self-discipline, the higher is the development of democracy."

Today, a great measure of the prestige that India enjoys in the world is based on objective perceptions of the extent to which we have succeeded in establishing, and functioning within, the

With freedom fighters, New Delhi, 14 August 1992



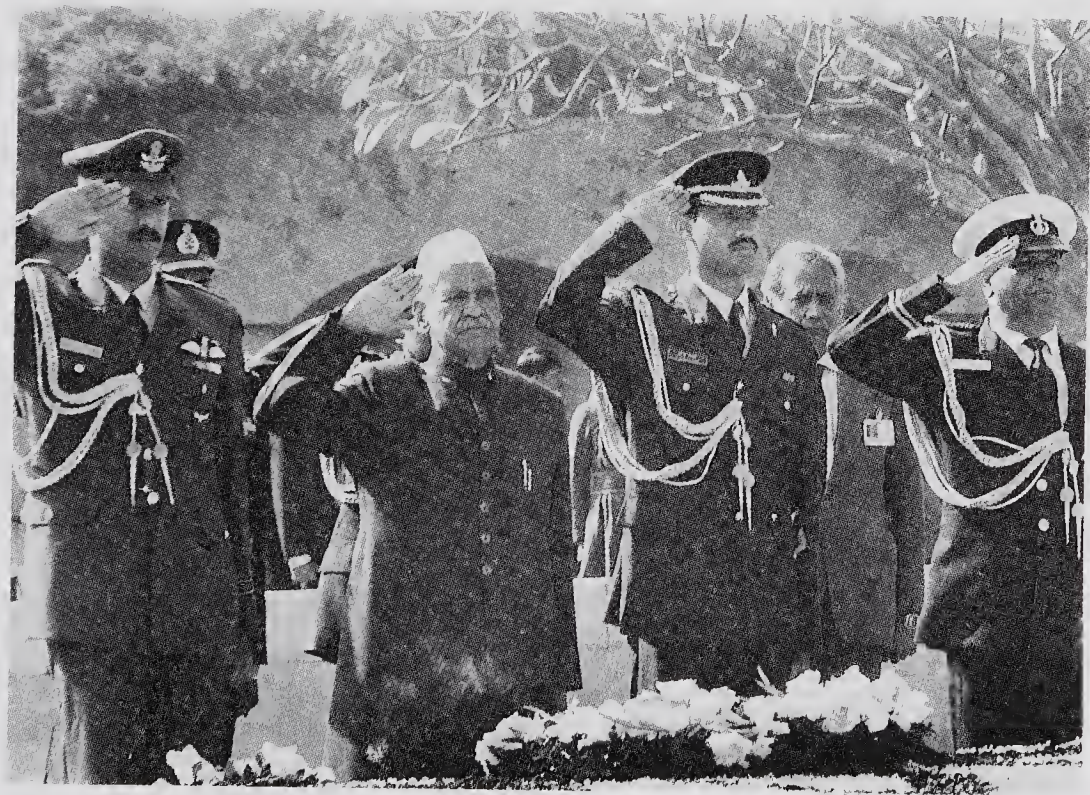
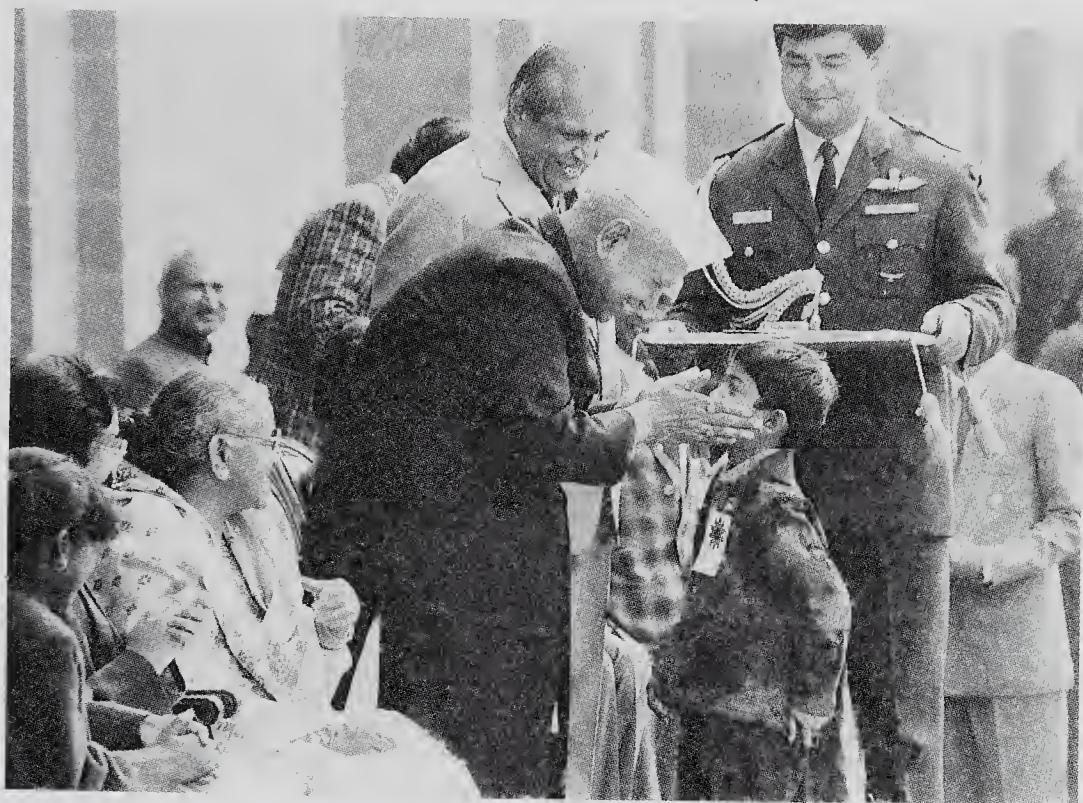
Giving away the Nehru Award to Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, New Delhi, 14 November 1992

*Donating for the Armed Forces Flag Day, New Delhi,
7 December 1992*



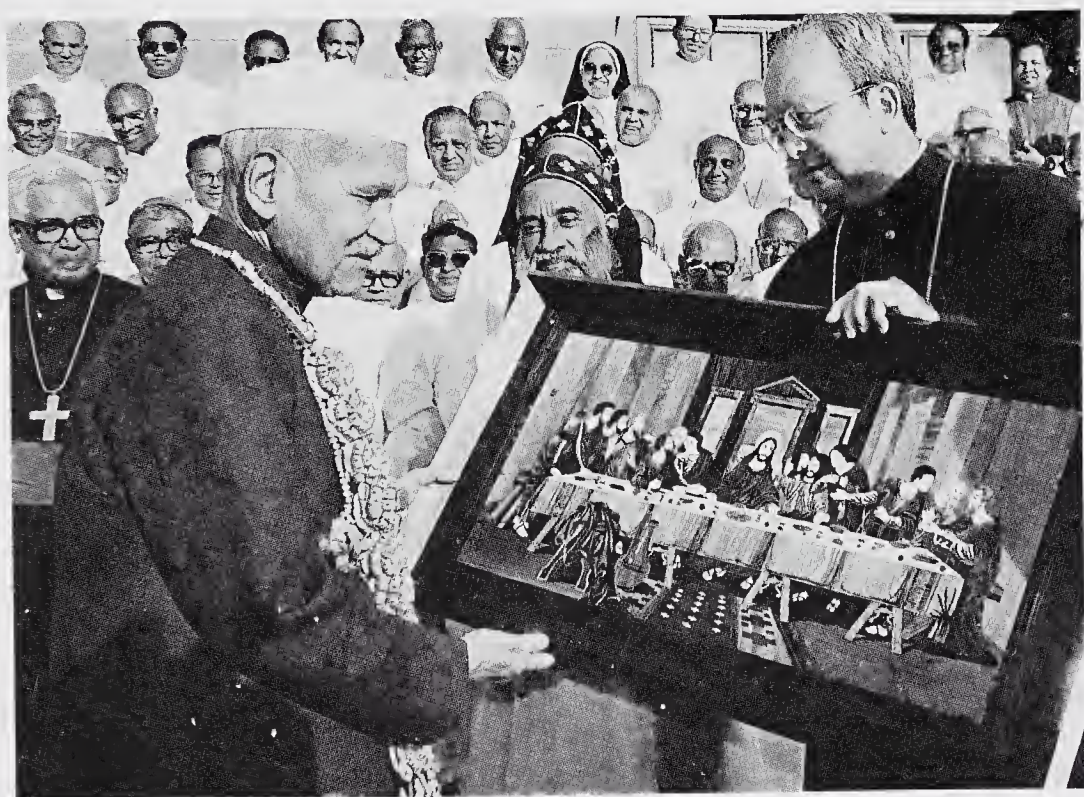
*Having a chat with Mother Teresa, New Delhi,
19 December 1992*

*Giving away Shankar's International Children's
Award, New Delhi, 12 February 1993*



*Paying tributes on Martyrs Day at Rajghat,
New Delhi, 30 January 1994*

*Receiving a panel from Bishops, New Delhi,
1 March 1994*



*At the passing out parade of N.D.A., Pune,
3 December 1994*

framework of democratic institutions and principles. Our building Panchayati Raj, our State Legislatures and Parliament are seen as projections of national character, thinking and aims.

There is an ever-present need to exert ourselves, more and more, in qualitative and quantitative terms, to enhance the efficiency of our democratic apparatus and eschew any infringement of essential norms. To achieve this we should strive for fuller and more intensive participation in the democratic process and, with it, greater self-discipline by the participants. In doing so, the effort, in my view, should be directed towards achieving both continuity and change. The best and most wholesome elements of our rich heritage of thought and culture need to be preserved and protected. We should seek to perpetuate inviolate the natural, innate urge of the people to respect all religions, faiths and streams of spiritual endeavour, and to recognize these as imbued with the same inner doctrine and purpose. Social harmony and oneness, mutual accommodation and understanding in the spirit of friendship and cooperation have been strengthened by such recognition. The importance attached to truth and non-violence, respect for elders and teachers, Service and selflessness has to be fortified *vis-a-vis* the aggression of alien acquisitive social mores. Similarly, the remarkable range of our bio-diversity, flora and fauna, ecology and environment need safeguarding and assured existence.

On the other hand, change: rapid, dynamic change, has to be attained in terms of overcoming poverty, ignorance and disease; energising economic growth, enhancing per capita incomes, and transcending to a progressively higher quality of life. A key task is to augment political democracy with economic democracy and to give material credence to democratic notions and concepts. These perceptions are illustrative. Continuity and change for public good, must characterize legislative effort if it is to prove meaningful to the common man and the national interest.

I have emphasised the critical functional relevance and importance of our system of Parliamentary democracy in the task of national reconstruction and advancement. But it needs also to be borne in mind that the science and the art of democracy emerge from certain deeply embedded national values. The dignity of every human being, individual freedoms, rights and duties, equality and social justice, and the yearning to materialize these, comprise the normative purpose of our democracy. These are our

ancient as well as our modern concerns, voiced by our sages and saints, and reiterated by our martyrs, freedom fighters and great national leaders. Quintessentially, these are the moral and ethical values immanent in India's ethos from time immemorial, representing the very spirit of India. That is and will remain our foundation.

Friends, here in Goa, amidst a fascinating composite culture, a magnificent heritage of pluralism and synthesis, *joie de vivre* and spirituality, dynamic progress and tranquillity, it is a matter of great happiness to me that the infrastructure of democracy and growth is being developed.

May a noble structure rise for the Assembly in Goa : beautiful in architectural design, and an eloquent symbol of freedom and progress. Let us also remember, always, that the true foundation, pillars and superstructure of democracy are constructed not by stone, mortar and steel, but by powerful, constant and total commitment, from every citizen and every representative of the people to our national values and goals. Let us strengthen this basic commitment as we embark on the project at hand.

With these words, I have great pleasure in laying the foundation stone of the Assembly Complex of the Legislature of the State of Goa. I pray for the progress, prosperity and happiness of the people of Goa.

Uphold National Values

TOMORROW OUR NATION celebrates Republic Day. On this auspicious occasion, I have great pleasure in extending to you my warmest greetings and felicitations.

Our Republic Day is a day of national resolve, a time to contemplate our position as a Nation in relation to the world around us, and to introspect upon our duties as individual citizens in enhancing and safeguarding the gains of freedom.

As we enter the forty-fifth year of our Republic, each of us must realize, and act upon the realization, that increasingly, the world of today will test our every sinew and faculty, virtue and ideal, every system and sector. More than ever before, common sense and plain understanding of present realities enjoin that we must organize ourselves to stand on our own resources: human, institutional, material and spiritual. Indeed, we shall have to strive ever harder, unitedly and with self-reliance, to go from strength to strength howsoever difficult the task may be.

For three centuries past, the history of the world has been determined by the relations between a few nations even though they were involved, in varying groups and in different periods, in confrontation and war with one another. The waging of a valiant and principled struggle for equity and human dignity, as in our country and other parts of the world, was a crucially important trend in this context. In the present times and in the future, the main features of the world's political economy will be moulded by those nations which lead in science, technology and industrialization, and occupy the commanding heights in global trade and commerce.

Today the world is at relative peace. Threat of confrontation having been dramatically lessened, and, instead, scope for friendship and mutual collaboration having been enlarged, the leading nations are well-poised to cooperate in fashioning the emerging world order. Powerful and far-reaching initiatives in this direction are underway. A new global balance is being adjusted as between the continents of America, Europe, Africa and Asia. A framework of guarded globalization, including elaborate regulatory parameters, is under settlement. New regional and zonal groupings are also assuming shape. Prestigious international organizations are facilitating peaceful establishment of the new environment for nations and peoples around the globe.

Friends, these developments impinge upon the lives of each of us as individuals and as citizens of one nation. Together we must respond to the challenge and prove our mettle. Let us fully appreciate that within us we have the wherewithal to achieve positive dynamic transformation. Our nation has a tremendous wealth of talented and dedicated men and women comparable with and even superior to the best in the world. Our being wedded to democracy, and having absorbed and gained fuller sensitivity to the concepts, processes and needs of democratic governance, is an

advantage of profound importance. We have built, gained experience in, and developed the institutional infrastructure and mechanisms of Parliamentary democracy at the federal, State, district, Taluka and village levels. We must impart greater qualitative and quantitative impetus to true democratic decentralization and augment political democracy with economic democracy. This would create the channels and scope for releasing and galvanizing the creativity and manifold genius of our vast human resources.

Prudently husbanded, our remarkable range of bio-diversity, and mineral wealth, human talent, institutional structures, and strategic location on the globe, can spell rapid self-sustaining growth and development. At the heart of this endeavour we must uphold, clearly and fully, our great national values. The dignity of every human being, individual freedom, rights and duties, equality and social justice, service and selflessness, and resolute commitment to materialize these, must inform our tasks.

Let us heed the voice of our sages and saints and learn the lessons from our own history. Pluralism, oneness and equality are intrinsic elements of our heritage and comprise a source of national strength of enormous importance. For centuries we have absorbed and reflected upon the truth of the oneness of the inner doctrine and purpose of all religions. Let there now be full manifestation of this realization, in our day to day actions in the social, political and economic areas of national life.

Friends, we Indians have to comprehend that the world is fast entering a new chapter in its history, in which the modern imperatives of patriotic duty have to be analysed, grasped and fulfilled by each citizen in his or her sphere of existence and service. The kisan, the jawan and the mazdoor, our artisans and entrepreneurs, scientists, engineers, teachers and doctors, writers, poets and artists, representatives of the people, the Judiciary, the civil service and the armed forces, and specially the women of India,—all of us must ponder over and perform with utmost devotion, our respective individual and collective duty.

The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, had said, "I want India to realize that she has a soul... that can rise triumphant above every physical combination of a whole world."

Our victory will be on the strength of our dedication to truth, non-violence, and unflinching constructive effort: arousing the

conscience of the world and the moral and ethical force of democracy in nations and peoples of the East and of the West.

India seeks peace, friendship and cooperation with all nations and peoples, specially our neighbours in the sub-continent and other countries in Asia with whom we have ties of kinship and culture. We are committed to the well-being of all humanity and performing a creative role in world affairs. Equally we shall zealously guard our freedom, national sovereignty and integrity. The Government and the people of India shall brook no interference in this respect.

Friends, let us strive to fulfil the dreams of those who gave their all for India's freedom, and render service such that for generations hence our Nation may regard us too as having done our duty well. Tomorrow, on our Republic Day, when we unfurl the national tri-colour, let us salute our flag of freedom and pledge ourselves to the glory of India and the good of all humankind.

Safeguard and Enlarge the Gains of Freedom

ON THE EVE of our Independence Day, I have immense pleasure in extending to you my warmest greetings and felicitations.

Forty-seven years have passed after August 15, 1947—when the national tri-colour was unfurled amidst joy, enthusiasm and pride, as the symbol of a free people. It had been a moment yearned for, and awaited, for long years—years full of struggle and sacrifice, pain and despair, courage and hope.

My generation had the privilege and the honour of fighting for, and winning, freedom for India. I vividly remember the atmosphere of that period. Today my mind is full of memories of the heroic young patriot, the very flower of India's youth, who was struck down just a few feet away from me in a police firing in

Lucknow during the Quit India Movement. To this day I have felt that he, rather than I, should have been spared by Providence to serve our nation. Let us pay respectful homage to the sacred memory of our martyrs and freedom fighters whose sacrifice and suffering inspired the nation's march to freedom.

This year we observed the 75th anniversary of the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, and from 2nd October the nation would observe the 125th birth anniversary of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. Bapu symbolised the moral and ethical purpose that energised and gave direction to our struggle for freedom.

In observing historic anniversaries in the annals of our struggle for freedom, we should understand and appreciate the fact that the movement in India and its influence around the world was empowered by commitment to moral and ethical ideals. Our great national leaders, in the cause of freedom and human dignity, upheld these ideals. Their leadership, in effect, represented the ascendance of moral and ethical ideals in our national life. It is to this phenomenon that the success of the freedom struggle can truly be attributed.

Friends, 47 years after attaining freedom, the task before every Indian, and before all of us as a nation, is of safeguarding and enlarging the gains of freedom. This is a task which, in my view, is as onerous, complex and challenging as the mission of winning freedom itself. We have, all of us, to make our own rightful contribution towards the positive transformation of our nation for the attainment of national goals. We must realise that to be triumphant it is essential for us to adhere to and be guided by our national values and ethical and moral ideals, as these are the true strength-givers.

More than twenty-five centuries ago, Lord Gautám Buddha had stressed the importance of virtue. Speaking in Pali—the common man's language of the period—Lord Buddha's own words as recorded by his disciples were:

“चंदनं तगरं वापि
उत्पलं अथ वासिकी
एतेसाम् गंधजातानाम्
सीलगंधो अनुत्तरो”

“Sandalwood, rhododendron, lotus and jasmine
have fragrances.
But the fragrance of Virtue
surpasses all.”

This beautiful verse from the *Dhammapada* has an abiding relevance for us today. The cultivation of virtue and the commitment to ethical and moral ideals require the attention and participation of all citizens, young and old. The task of protecting and building upon the gains of freedom can really be accomplished only on the firm foundation of such an effort.

In the light of our ideals, the national effort should be directed towards achieving both continuity and change. The best and most wholesome elements of our heritage, of our thought and culture need to be preserved and protected. We must maintain unharmed the natural innate urge of the people to respect all religions, faiths and streams of spiritual endeavour, and to recognise these as imbued with the same inner doctrine and purpose. Social harmony and oneness, mutual accommodation and understanding in the spirit of friendship and cooperation are strengthened by such recognition.

The importance attached to truth and non-violence, respect for elders and teachers, service and selflessness, have to be fortified. While welcoming positive and beneficial influences from all sides we have to guard against the ingress of alien acquisitive social mores. Similarly the remarkable range of our bio-diversity, flora and fauna, ecology and environment need to be nurtured and saved from damage.

On the other hand, rapid, dynamic, change has to be attained to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease; to energise economic growth, enhance per-capita incomes and transcend to a progressively higher quality of life. A key task in this is to give material credence to democratic notions and concepts. We must aim to build a strong, self-reliant India which would evoke due respect in the comity of nations and make a fitting contribution to the well-being of all nations and peoples. Through all such change and growth we should remember a thought expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru in the last few months of his great life: “Mere material prosperity alone will not make human life rich and meaningful... Alongwith economic development ethical and spiritual values will have to be fostered. This alone will lead to the full development of human

resources and character... We must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilisation and have given some meaning to life."

Another vitally important dimension of our national life which needs to be developed with great care and attention is our system of Parliamentary democracy. The science and art of democracy have emerged from certain deeply embedded national values. The dignity of every human being, individual needs, rights and duties, equality and social justice and the yearning to materialise these comprise the normative purpose of our democracy. These are our ancient as well as our modern concerns, voiced by our sages and saints and reiterated by our martyrs, freedom fighters and great national leaders. We must remember that our methodology in building Panchayati Raj and our approach in developing the framework of democratic institutions and principles is seen as the projection of national character, thinking and aims. We believe in the democratic way of life and welcome the growth of democracy around the world. It is then all the more necessary for us to work our own institutions in a manner that would enhance the prestige that India enjoys in the world today for its success as a Parliamentary democracy.

Parliamentary democracy subsists on the basis of appropriately chosen representatives; full, orderly, deliberation and debate; informed and responsive decision-making; accountability of the Government to the legislature, and of members of the legislature to their electorates. All this is necessary, indeed indispensable and obligatory, for the system to function. Nor is this all. More is required : in terms of an independent Judiciary, a professionalised civil service, a vigilant Press and, above all, enlightened social solidarity and an alert, assertive public opinion. There is an ever-present need to exert ourselves, more and more, in qualitative and quantitative terms, to enhance the efficiency of our democratic apparatus and eschew any infringement of essential norms.

I recall a profound statement by Bapu on August 15, 1945: "We regard constructive work as ahimsa; *Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah.*"

Friends, the eyes of the world look towards us. The message of India to our neighbourhood and to the rest of the world has been and will be, of peace, friendship and cooperation. We believe that concerted efforts to promote mutually beneficial regional cooperation, as between the member nations of the SAARC as also in the

Indian Ocean region and with member nations of ASEAN, would provide the key to higher levels of growth, prosperity and happiness for all. We shall continue to play a vigilant and creative role in world affairs.

Friends, tomorrow, on our Independence Day, when we unfurl the national tri-colour, let us salute our flag of freedom, reiterate our national resolve, and rededicate ourselves to the glory of India and the good of all humankind.

Rajiv Gandhi— a Visionary Leader

RAJIV GANDHI WOULD have been 50 years old today. Fate willed that he was not to be amongst us. But his memory has brought us together, to honour his achievements and renew his message. The Symposia organized by the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation on this Anniversary is an appropriate recognition of a great man who achieved so much in such a short time. I am honoured to inaugurate it and to pay my personal tribute to Rajivji.

Rajiv Gandhi symbolised the optimism and vitality of the post-independence generation in this country. He had a vision of what this nation should become and a determination to turn that vision into reality. In his words, "I am young and I too have a dream. I dream of an India ... strong, independent, self-reliant and in the front rank of the nations of the world, in the service of mankind." A man of remarkable courage, fortitude and strength of conviction, his life was a tale of a leader who put his country's interests above his own.

Rajivji took over the reins of power at a very critical moment in our history. I can still recall vividly the poise and dignity with which he faced Indiraji's assassination, conscious that his personal grief must give way to the responsibility of leadership. His very first broadcast to the nation as Prime Minister forged a bond of

trust with the people: "The nation", he said, "has placed a great responsibility on me by asking me to head the Government. I shall be able to fulfil it only with your support and cooperation... I shall value your guidance in upholding the unity, integrity and honour of the country."

Rajiv Gandhi's role to the challenge of consolidating national unity, making the promotion of secularism among the foremost priority of his Government. In words so reminiscent of Panditji, he declared, "Answering communalism with communalism will only help subversive and secessionist forces. The combined might of the people and the Government will thwart their designs. There is only one India. It belongs to all of us."

The manifest sincerity with which he initiated serious negotiations to tackle the seemingly intractable problems in Punjab, Assam and Mizoram yielded dividends. We take this for granted today, but let us acknowledge that the restoration of stability and democracy in these States is, in no small measure, due to Rajivji's patience and perseverance.

Deeply rooted in the democratic ethos, Rajiv Gandhi firmly believed that violence and terrorism had no place in our society. His India was a mosaic of languages, cultures and ethnicities, not simply tolerating each other but accepting and harmonising all the diversities as part of the composite whole. He, therefore, vigorously resisted the onslaught of communal forces on our secular fabric. "Secularism", he said, "is the basis of our unity. And any force that is out to counter secularism, any communal force, any religious force, any political force that relies on communalism or on religious interests must not be allowed to use this interest to weaken the nation... Communalism is a danger that is common to all in India. Our strength will lie not in allowing this to flourish but in seeing that everyone's interest is fulfilled by reducing communalism."

The massive mandate secured by Rajiv Gandhi in the 1984 elections heralded a new era in the nation's development. For Rajivji saw clearly that the eradication of poverty was only possible through technological modernisation, higher productivity and economic expansion. He was cognisant of the need to integrate India with the global economy, to attract and absorb advanced technologies in the quest for national reconstruction. He, therefore, initiated the economic reform and liberalisation process to prepare the nation for the challenge of global competition. His

restructuring of trade, fiscal and industrial policies reflected this decisive drive towards modernisation. Rajivji gave great encouragement to the private sector, rightly believing that it had reached a stage of maturity wherein it could shoulder greater responsibilities. Their involvement in key sectors of the national economy like oil exploration, chemicals and defence production affirmed the partnership between the nation and its entrepreneurs for the good of the people. In truth, Rajivji's approach to economic questions was in consonance with reality of the time.

His imaginative and innovative approach towards the development of India was based on the confidence that science and technology should be taken to the masses as this was the only key to poverty eradication and to better the standard of living of the masses. It was under his direction that target-oriented technology missions in the fields of telecommunication, oil-seeds, immunisation, drinking water and illiteracy were established. Science and technology had been given relevance to the lives of millions of people. In the areas of space, atomic energy, electronics, oceanology and bio-technology, Rajiv Gandhi took personal interest in strengthening the national scientific base.

Rajiv Gandhi's signal contribution to the Indian polity was to initiate specific measures to ensure that the benefits of development percolated to the common man. He realised that this was possible only if there was genuine democratic decentralization. Introducing the Panchayati Raj and Nagar Palika Bills in Rajya Sabha in October, 1989, he said, "These Bills are not only instruments for bringing democracy and devolution to every *chaupal* and every *chabutra*, to every *angan* and to every *dalan*, they are also a charter for ending bureaucratic oppression, technological tyranny, gross inefficiency, bribery, red-tapism, nepotism, corruption and the million other malfeasances that afflict the poor of our villages, towns and cities." Rajivji attached such great importance to this principle that on its realisation, he was prepared to stake the future of his Government. Almost as important was his commitment to widen popular participation in the democratic process. To this end, he ensured the lowering of the voting age. His belief that justice delayed is justice denied also led him to encourage introduction of the Lok Adalats.

There were hardly few realms of human endeavour not explored by the vigorous mind of this youthful leader. Rajiv Gandhi was aware that the challenge of population growth could

only be met by the spread of education. In fashioning a new Education Policy, he promoted the wider concept of human resource development, in which people were considered as the core of the development process. In his words: "Population is one of our biggest problems. What we must do is to turn this problem into the biggest asset... develop them not just in teaching them technology... but also develop a sense of value and idealism, a commitment to the country, develop the cultural heritage that we have inherited." His endeavour was to supplement the material concept of development with the totality of human life and values.

In his international outlook, Rajiv Gandhi was a true heir to the policies of Panditji and Indiraji. While strengthening the country's unity and integrity, he strove to ensure that South Asia would become a region of peace and stability where India and its neighbours could work together for the common good of all peoples. He signed the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to provide for the safety and security of the Tamils, maintaining at the same time the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. His prompt response to the call for assistance by Maldives showed his commitment to stability in South Asia. Rajivji believed that there was no alternative to friendship between Pakistan and India. In his view, "It falls upon our generation to safeguard our sovereignties not through the illusory pursuit of military strength but through the conscious pursuit of friendship between ourselves... We are summoned to greater tasks than assiduously aggravating the scars of history... It is a destiny that we can achieve together, as friends and good neighbours."

The normalisation of relations between India and China, was a process to which Rajivji made a personal contribution. Speaking at Beijing in December, 1988, he stressed that, "Our relationship is crucial to the future of humankind. India and China seek the improvement in their relationship not only for their mutual benefits but also to provide the basis on which we can contribute to the building of a new world order." His visit is acknowledged as a turning point in our relations with that ancient neighbour.

Any issue of concern to the human race figured in Rajiv Gandhi's consciousness. His sense of purpose and clarity of vision impelled him to move beyond the recognition of problems to finding their solutions. On the vital issue of disarmament, he initiated and supported the Six-Nation Initiative. He followed it up with the 1986 Delhi Declaration. In 1988 he proposed the Plan of

Action, urging complete and comprehensive nuclear disarmament. His role in setting up the AFRICA Fund is widely acknowledged and his proposal for the Planet Protection Fund was applauded the world over.

No tribute is adequate for Rajivji. Words are not enough to express the deep sense of loss which each of us felt personally when he was so cruelly assassinated. I knew Rajiv Gandhi as a child, as the grand son of Panditji and the son of Indiraji and Feroze Gandhi. I saw him grow as a carefree youth and as an affectionate son to become a devoted family person and a conscientious professional. And yet when the call of duty came, he was transformed into a decisive and visionary leader. He was devoted to this country and deeply committed to restoring its greatness. Completing the task he left unfinished is what, I am sure, he would have liked us to do.

Even today, it is difficult to speak of Rajiv Gandhi in the past tense. Though he is no more, his presence remains. The *Gita* says:

नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुतः ॥

“Weapons cleave him not,
nor fire burneth him,
nor waters wet him,
nor wind drieth him away.”

The spirit of Rajivji lives on. His message will continue to inspire generations of Indians. I wish all success to your Conference.

People Oriented Development

I CONSIDER IT a great privilege to be called upon to inaugurate this Annual Conference of Gandhian Constructive Workers organized by the Akhil Bharat Rachnatmak Samaj.

All of you who have assembled here have direct experience and intimate knowledge of constructive work in one form or the other. Many of you have been involved in Bhoodan, in the development of Khadi and Village Industries, in health and environmental projects in villages, in the imparting of education, particularly to girls, in adult literacy and in the movement against child labour. Others have been in the forefront of efforts to promote national integration, to ensure communal harmony and to support the eradication of untouchability. The common thread uniting these issues is that they each represent a facet of the national agenda drawn up by Bapu during our freedom struggle and carried on by Vinobaji thereafter.

This year, we commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of Bapu and the birth centenary of Vinobaji. There are many, like me, who belong to a generation which has a living memory of our struggle for independence, who had the privilege of meeting or at least seeing Bapu, and for whom achieving the goals of the national movement remains an unfinished task. But, for more than the three-quarters of our nation born after independence, the knowledge of that epic struggle is what they have heard from their parents or grand parents, read about in books, or learnt as history. Today, the real tribute we can pay to Bapu and his disciple Vinobaji is to make those born after their time appreciate their message, realise its relevance to present day conditions, and understand its importance to our national development.

To comprehend the greatness of Gandhiji, I would like to recall for your benefit the famous resolution on fundamental rights which he moved at the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress in 1931. In it, the Father of our Nation listed these

rights and it will surprise many of you how relevant these remain even today. The rights included:

- Freedom of association, speech and press; freedom of conscience, and profession and practice of religion; no disability attached to religion, caste or creed; no civic bar on account of sex; equal public access rights to all citizens.
- Religious neutrality on the part of the State.
- A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.
- Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.
- Protection of women workers, and specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.
- Prohibition against employment of children of school going age in factories.
- Adult suffrage.
- Free Primary education.

The full realization of these rights is our current challenge.

Both Bapu and Vinobaji were firmly rooted in the Indian ethos. Their empathy with the people, developed through continuous and prolonged mass contact, gave them an unique feel for the real problems of the country. And with this understanding, they evolved an approach which forms the basis for your constructive work.

Today, economic questions dominate our national agenda. There is a consensus on the need to expand the economy, to increase production, to provide employment, and to raise the living standard of our people. Which people have to be the focus of our concern? Where is it that employment generation is so urgently needed? Bapu said:

“Our cities are not India. India lives in her seven and half lakhs of villages, and the cities live upon the villages.”

Forty seven years after independence, there is unfortunately still inadequate appreciation that the prosperity of the nation is determined by the development of its villages.

Improving the lot of the poor and dispossessed is not simply an economic problem. It is our social duty, our moral obligation. Through words and deeds, Bapu brought out the ethical dimension of poverty alleviation with his emphasis on *Daridranarayana*. In his words:

“Of all the myriads of names of God, *Daridranarayana* is the most sacred, inasmuch as it represents the untold millions of poor people as distinguished from the few rich people.”

The genius of Bapu lay in the simplicity of his great ideas. It was this quality which inspired millions of our countrymen and moved them to seek their rights. Consider the example of the Charkha. During our freedom struggle, it was the symbol of nationalism, of self-reliance, of being Indian, and of rejection of foreign domination. But the Charkha was more than a symbol; it was the most practical and effective method of highlighting and dealing with the problem of rural unemployment. To quote Bapu:

“I claim for the Charkha the honour of being able to solve the problem of economic distress in a most natural, simple, inexpensive and business-like manner.”

In Gandhiji's thinking, the economic problems of India could only be solved when our vast labour force could be put to productive use and when adequate employment opportunities could be created in our villages. His encouragement to artisans, to potters, to carpenters, to practise their traditional skills reflected the importance he attached to reviving the rural economy. Handicrafts and village industry could adjust to the seasonal variations of an agricultural environment. By doing so, we were providing a livelihood to needy millions and giving them the purchasing power to sustain our economy. Similarly important is the self-respect which goes with employment and the reaffirmation of the cultural identity of our people. Expanded rural employment also prevents alienation from one's roots and checks uncontrolled movement of population to cities in search of jobs.

Gandhiji repeatedly stressed that independence was only the achievement of political freedom and that the battle for economic freedom had but begun. He spoke of an 'economic constitution' of India which “should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing. In other words, everybody should

be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally realized only if the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in the control of the masses."

The criticality of education to development was vigorously propagated by Bapu. We now realize the futility of churning out graduates with degrees but little employment prospects. The predicament of students from villages is particularly hard as the educational process often tends to distance them from their origins. Bapu envisaged basic education with a high vocational content which would have a powerful social impact on our society. As he put it:

"My plan to impart primary education through the medium of village handicrafts like spinning and carding, etc., is conceived as the spearhead of a silent social revolution fraught with the most far reaching consequences. It will provide a healthy and moral basis of relationship between the city and the village, and thus go a long way towards eradicating some of the worst evils of the present social insecurity and poisoned relationship between the classes."

It is evident today that population growth is a major drag on our development. There is growing awareness that only education, particularly education of women, can provide a lasting solution. "Education", said Gandhiji, "is essential for enabling women to uphold natural rights, to exercise them wisely, and to work for their expansion." Bapu was also a committed proponent of compulsory primary education which he saw as combating evils like child labour and similar forms of exploitation. The validity of this too is being appreciated today.

Environmental conservation and preservation is another subject to which we have started paying considerable attention. Gandhiji, in his time, warned us of the dangers of industrialism, the cost of conspicuous consumption, and the consequences of the injudicious use of natural resources. He was a strong advocate of using renewable sources of energy, which had the added advantage of ensuring the cleanliness of our villages. His emphasis on simple life style and on the preservation of traditions were directed to this end. In today's terminology, Bapu was an ecologically friendly person.

The state of our polity today reaffirms one's belief in validity of Gandhiji's philosophy. Casteism has been steadily gaining ground, and of late, has been used for political purposes. We did not aspire for freedom in order to pit one segment of society against another. It is equally impermissible to allow social oppression to continue in the name of tradition. A true Gandhian would seek social justice without social conflict just as Bapu himself sought freedom without violence. Social upliftment has more than a material dimension and we would do well to follow Bapu's advice:

"The real hunger of Harijans, which needs to be satisfied, is not for morsels of food, but for decent living as self-respecting, equal citizens, for a square deal as human beings, for freedom from fear, for inculcation of clean and sanitary habits, thrift, industry and education."

Religion too has begun to be used as a divisive force. There can be nothing more antithetical to Bapu's vision and beliefs. For, in his view:

"Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? Wherein is the cause for quarrelling?"

Bapu's relevance did not end with the attainment of independence. In fact, his teachings have even greater importance as we embark on the process of nation-building. For, he was not simply the leader of our freedom struggle to be remembered on appropriate anniversaries. He was a social reformer, an educationist, an economic thinker, an environmentalist, and a philosopher. His is a living message which continues to be propagated and applied. Vinobaji, his first individual Satyagrahi, took up the cause and showed us that whether it was land redistribution, village reconstruction or combating violence, the teachings of Bapu can be our guide. It is particularly appropriate that this Conference is being held in Andhra Pradesh, for it is in this State that Vinobaji received his first Bhoodan in 1951.

All of you present here today have dedicated your life to constructive work. In Bapu's words, "we regard constructive work as 'Ahimsa'; *Ahimsa Parmo Dharma*.'" The challenge before us is

the unfinished task of our freedom movement of creating a truly just and humane society. In striving to realize this dream, let Bapu's words serve as your inspiration:

"The field of service is unlimited. Our capacity for service also can become unlimited, as there is no limit to the capacity of the spirit. If the gates of the heart are open, everything can get into it. Even a little service by such people bears immense fruit."

The Message of Vinobaji

WE COMMEMORATE TODAY the beginning of the Birth Centenary of Vinobaji. It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate the Centenary Celebrations. On this occasion, I convey my best wishes to all members of the Acharya Kul.

All of you are familiar with Vinobaji's life and work, his relationship with Bapu, and the manner in which he carried on Bapu's legacy. I count myself among those privileged to have met and worked with Vinobaji. As a Minister in Madhya Pradesh, I had occasion to accompany the Acharya on his Padyatra and to see for myself the tremendous response he elicited from the people. I absorbed from him the importance of *Shramdan* and how it could lead to the development of villages and as Education Minister, encouraged the building of schools and village roads through *Shramdan*.

Vinobaji came from a relatively privileged background, but his spiritual temperament surfaced early in his youth. At the age of 12, he took a vow of chastity. Though a brilliant student, conventional studies did not give him the fulfilment which he so ardently sought. It is said that after reducing all his school and college certificates to ashes, he went to Banaras to study Sanskrit. There, Vinobaji's nationalism came to the fore, but his contact with nationalists prepared to use violence only disillusioned him

about their means. When Bapu returned from South Africa in 1915, Vinobaji recognized in him the leader he had been waiting for, and he joined Sabarmati Ashram to begin a relationship which was to last for life time.

Both Gandhiji and Vinobaji were deeply committed to bringing about changes in our society. And they envisaged that these changes could take place, not through force and coercion, but through peace, love and non-violence. Their belief in the effectiveness of moral force was all the more astonishing, as their times had witnessed two World Wars and colonial oppression.

The relationship between Bapu and Vinobaji was like that of a father and son. But yet, it was something more than that. Their bond was quite unique, almost as if one soul had two bodies. Being the object of Bapu's affection was not easy. It had to be earned by self-control, service, discipline, truth and non-violence. But when asked by Vinoba to adopt him as a spiritual son, Bapu's reply was, "Your love and character overwhelm me, and I accept the role. A truthful father should produce a more truthful son than himself. In your case, through no effort of mine, I see that this has already happened." The respect in which Bapu held Vinobaji's knowledge, spirituality and integrity led him to confer on Vinobaji the title of Acharya.

Through the tumultuous course of the Freedom Struggle, Vinoba remained unwavering in his belief in Ahimsa. Bapu, in turn, recognized this extraordinary commitment by personally selecting Vinobaji to face the most daunting of challenges. He sent him to Guruvayur in 1924 to lead the Harijan Temple Entry Satyagraha. Earlier, in 1921, he had asked him to go to Wardha in response to Jamnalal Bajaj's entreaty to set up an Ashram there. Vinobaji was deeply involved in Bapu's various mass contact and popular mobilization programmes. He led the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha and was a participant in the 1930 Dandi March. A decade later, as the nation protested its entry into the Second World War without its consent, Bapu gave Vinobaji the honour of being the first individual satyagrahi. His affection and regard for his spiritual son is summed up in these words: "He is one of the Ashram's rare pearls—one of those who have come not to be blessed but to bless, not to receive but to give."

The spirit of ahimsa, to which Vinobaji was so completely committed, remained the core of his activities even after Indepen-

dence. Through his Bhoodan Yajna, Vinobaji demonstrated that social and economic justice could be achieved without social conflict, without terror or recourse to violence. In Vinobaji's own words:

"Enmity has no absolute existence. Like light, virtue is power, a positive substance. Sin is like darkness, without any power of its own. It is negative—absence of substance. Carry light to age-long darkness and the latter will disappear in no time. Similarly when virtue makes its appearance, hatred and enmity cannot exist in its presence. This Bhoodan Yajna is an application of non-violence, an experiment in transformation of life itself."

Vinobaji started the Bhoodan Yajna from the village of Pochamapalli in April, 1951. The Movement began almost spontaneously, with Vinobaji responding to pleas for government help in land allocation by suggesting that self-help was a better solution. From this beginning, the Movement gathered strength to a stage where more than four million acres of land were donated. Vinobaji walked almost 40,000 miles in this endeavour. Bhoodan Yajna reflected many aspects of Gandhian thinking. It represented a move towards social justice. It was motivated by a spirit of sacrifice. It repudiated the use of violence. And it strengthened the unity of the thousands of villages which make India.

Not all of us are able to practice the principles which we profess. In the case of Vinobaji, he let his actions speak for themselves. Few could match him in a life of honesty, frugality, hard work, respect for all religions and struggle against social prejudices. Vinobaji personally did scavenging work at the Wardha Sevagram Ashram, knowing that setting an example was more effective than exhortations. Welfare of Harijans, which was the principal focus of his Bhoodan Movement, was so intrinsic to his thinking that he compared it to—"Reminding the Ganga to water the trees on its banks as it flows on. It will do it as a matter of course."

As with Bapu, Vinobaji realized the value of labour and believed that labour rather than wealth should be the aim of life. He laboured himself and inspired others to contribute to the creation of national wealth through *Shramdan*. He got pleasure from work which others get from leisure. The conviction that labour purifies was reflected in his views on education, as he

believed strongly in Bapu's maxim that—"Real education consists in drawing the best out of yourself. What better book can there be than the book of humanity?"

He strove to widen the definition of education beyond the merely literary, by emphasizing its vocational content and relevance to life. Characteristically, Vinobaji did it by personal example, in spinning and bringing out a text book on spinning, which earned even Bapu's admiration.

Vinobaji always maintained that in all his action, the *Gita* was his guide. He expounded on the *Gita* at Sabarmati Ashram and gave lectures in Dhulia Jail which were later published in various languages. Respecting all religions, he was as familiar with the *Quran Majid* and *Bible* as he was with the *Gita*. His message was of a universal man, encapsulated by his slogan of 'Jai Jagat'. Deeply embedded in our composite culture, the Acharya was proficient in Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Arabic, Persian as well as English and French. A strong proponent of Hindi as our national language, he saw it as a unifying force, gaining ground through acceptance rather than by imposition.

In the years that have passed, India has changed and yet remains the same. Despite our development in many fields, many of the challenges which Bapu and Vinobaji confronted in their time are still with us. Our struggle against poverty and disease is incomplete. Our war on ignorance has not yet brought us victory. The economy of our villages needs to be strengthened. Employment opportunities have to be more need-based. Social justice is still far from realisation. And social prejudices have not been erased from our thinking. Today, as we commemorate the Acharya's centenary let us strive to work for the rejuvenation of our villages which were so close to his heart. Let us appreciate his teaching that moral development is more important than material progress.

With these words, I join all of you in paying tribute to this great Saint who synthesised revolution and peace, science and morality and politics with social work.

Abiding Relevance of Bapu's Philosophy

I AM VERY happy to be here with all of you as we express our veneration to the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, on his 125th Birth Anniversary. May I at the outset, pay my deep homage on behalf of the Nation to Bapu, and pray that this commemoration will strengthen the commitment of our countrymen, and of the people of the world, to truth and non-violence.

Whenever my thoughts go to Bapu, particularly on an occasion such as his 125th Birth Anniversary, it is natural that I am overwhelmed by emotions. I first had the privilege of seeing Bapu when I was 11 years old when he came to Bhopal to inaugurate a Khadi Bhandar. I felt an extraordinary attraction, a unique feeling, towards him. Just the sight of Bapu made such a powerful impression on my mind and I can well understand why the people of our Nation followed him so devotedly. In Bapu, our masses saw a reflection of their own values. They saw in him a solution to contemporary problems and a hope for the future. To express in one's time, the past, the present and the future can only be done by an extraordinary person. Bapu was such a unique individual.

Bapu envisioned the Individual, the Nation, and indeed the World, not in segments or compartments, but as a whole. His vision encompassed the entire humanity. His holistic thinking covered not only philosophy but politics, economics, social issues, as well as ethics and culture. And that is why I emphasize that Bapu cannot be understood, by an explanation of his words nor indeed in our own words. To truly comprehend Bapu, one has to look beyond his words to his thoughts. One has to not merely apply logic, but appreciate the depth of his feelings. Bapu has to be studied not in isolated fragments, but in totality and in the proper context.

Consider the situation of our own country, and of the world, when Bapu's thinking evolved. It was the time when our nation was struggling for its Independence. The wave of nationalism was growing in India. At the same time, in Germany and in Italy,

nationalism was taking another form. Bapu's nationalism was not one of race supremacy. His was not an aggressive nationalism. Bapu knew that such methods could not create anything permanent. Therefore, he always linked nationalism to the concrete issues in the lives of our people. His objectives were political independence, village self-sufficiency, cleanliness, health, drinking water, primary education, small and cottage industries, the oneness of humanity, equality and spiritual upliftment. These small but extremely important and necessary requirements were the foundation on which his nationalism was built. This was what made the common man join Bapu and his endeavours. Bapu was not great merely because he spoke great words and did great deeds. He was great because he considered even the most trivial of issues to be important and by attending to them, he made them vital.

On the global scene, Bapu's time was an era of two World Wars. Aggression and counter-aggression were rampant. The few concerned about the future of humanity were sunk in gloom, doubting the basis for our very existence. Pessimism was gaining ground, visible in its impact on Europe's literature. In those moments of darkness, Bapu's faith shone through like a light. He inspired hope not only among his own people, but among others, in their existence, their striving in life, and in their culture. Bapu imbued in us a sense of self-respect. I believe that Bapu's thoughts will continue to reinforce our faith, as did the *Gita*, particularly at a time when the world is passing through doubt and pessimism. The present generation knows Bapu as a great leader who led our Independence movement. But he was greater than that. He sublimed human consciousness from small and narrow thoughts. He was the detached *Karmayogi*. He was in politics and yet above it. He was born in this world, and yet free from its illusions. A sacred soul with the power to inspire by his very presence. Romain Rolland rightly said of Bapu:

"His very touch was sacred; when in contact with him, I could imagine that his was the touch of St. Dominique and St. Francis."

Like all saints, Bapu was deeply egalitarian. All his life, he struggled for the equality and unity of mankind, and eventually, sacrificed his life for this objective. Even his leadership of the Freedom Struggle was motivated by this belief. The resolutions on Fundamental Rights he moved at the 1931 Karachi Session of the

Indian National Congress provide ample proof. He referred there to the rights of women, to the rights of workers, opposed child labour and envisaged civic equality. For him, untouchability was a blot on humanity. In this context, Bapu wrote in *Harijan* of 11th February, 1933:

“In my view, untouchability in its present form which is visible in Hinduism is a crime against both Man and God... It demeans the untouchables as well as the others... Therefore, the sooner this evil is eradicated, the faster Hinduism and humanity will progress.”

I would like to specially emphasize that for Bapu, abolishment of untouchability was not simply a philosophy or a thought, but was an inseparable and natural part of his behaviour. It was intrinsic to his life style. During the course of the freedom struggle, Bapu was one individual who went and stayed with the Harijans in their Bastis, who worked with them, and who demonstrated by example, the dignity of labour.

In the same way, Bapu encouraged the participation of women in the freedom movement, thereby giving it greater vigour. He encouraged women to be in the forefront of efforts to develop and reform our society. In Bapu's words:

“I am not willing to compromise in any manner on the question of women's rights. My view is that there should be no legal obligation on them which does not apply to men. There should be no discrimination between sons and daughters. There must be complete equality for women.”

In contemporary times, these endeavours of Bapu may be linked to the observance of human rights. Today, human rights are not specific to any particular nation and its promotion is a global objective.

It would be appropriate here to refer to world peace. World peace is a positive manifestation of the principle of ahimsa. Bapu firmly believed that independence achieved through violence, or indeed any other result of violence, could neither be lasting nor just. Violence gives rise to counter-violence and ultimately increases it. Modern history has proved time and again that any political action based on coercion or terror does not last. Democracy is evidence of this failure of violence. For Bapu, democracy was not merely a political mechanism, but a way of life. It was for this

reason that he wanted India to become a truly democratic society. In his words:

“Where the poorest will feel that this is their nation—in the construction of which they have a voice. I will strive for that India in which there is no discrimination between the rich and the poor, and where different communities would live in harmony. In such an India, there will be no place for untouchability or liquor or other forms of intoxicants. Women will have the same rights as men.”

A day before he died, on 29th January, 1948, Bapu spoke once again of Panchayats. He reiterated his view that they would promote leadership from the grass-roots. Today, we endeavour to give shape to this aspiration.

Bapu preferred to use the word Self-rule—Swarajya—instead of Independence. For him, Swarajya signified self-control and self-discipline. Indeed, if democracy is without self-discipline, then it will give place to anarchy or even lead to dictatorship.

Today, the world is facing a major challenge in the misuse of narcotics and in its illicit trafficking. This challenge is not only to the world economy but to its polity, society and cultures. The intensity of Bapu's opposition to the use of intoxicants may be gauged from his writings in 'Young India' of 25th June, 1931, where he emphasized that:

“If I become the dictator of India but for an hour, my first act would be to close liquor shops without giving any compensation.”

During those days liquor, tobacco, bidis and cigarettes were more prevalent and Bapu launched a movement against their usage. He openly declared that:

“The habit of consuming liquor destroys the soul and gradually reduces man to the level of beast.”

Today, we endeavour at the global level to spread literacy. Bapu gave an important place to primary education in his constructive programmes so that our people could emerge from the darkness of illiteracy. A number of our famous leaders were involved in these programmes. Bapu exhorted:

“The widespread illiteracy amongst our population is a blot on India. It must be eradicated. Undoubtedly, literacy does not begin

and end with learning alphabets. It must be accompanied by practical knowledge.”

Consumerism has brought forth problems in all societies. Economic rivalries are on the increase, causing general disenchantment. Pessimism and self-doubt are visible. Corruption is growing. New forms of exploitations are coming up. In his time, Bapu warned of the dangers of consumerism. He stressed sacrifice over acquisition. He believed that India should be known as the land of duty, sacrifice and service rather than the land of materialism. He saw consumerism as poisoning our culture. In his words:

“True success does not lie in increasing acquisitions but to consciously decrease the desire to acquire. As we reduce our desires, we gain real pleasure and happiness. Our ability to serve increases. By practising restraint and moulding habits, one can decrease wants, and as they decrease, happiness, peace and health may be attained.”

Bapu’s attachment to nature is well known and I recall an episode narrated by Panditji. Once, Bapu was so engrossed in conversing with Panditji that he absent-mindedly used two mugs of water instead of one to wash his hands. Bapu himself then considered this an example of luxury and called it a theft from nature. Such was the strength of his commitment to safeguard natural resources! He used every inch of paper when writing, believing that each additional piece of paper meant a further destruction of our forests. He was an advocate, even at that time, of Gobar Gas. Gobar Gas would not only meet the energy requirements of our villages, but would ensure their cleanliness and health as well. It will also provide good organic manure. Bapu was thus a leader in the use of renewable sources of energy. We may see in him a supporter of environmental protection and forest conservation.

Bapu was not a mere idealist, nor was he a hardened realist. He was an idealistic realist. In his life, he demonstrated by concrete action the ideals he upheld. Unity in his words and deeds was the hallmark which determined his personality, his message and his achievement.

Bapu’s thoughts may have been expressed more than half a century ago. And may be, they were in the context of the then prevailing situation in our country. But I believe that their relevance has increased with time. And they are relevant, not only

for India but for the entire world. When humanity finds itself endangered, Bapu's philosophy will show us the right path. The issues Bapu touched upon in his time have now emerged as problems confronting the entire world.

Bapu's thinking was focused on the welfare of the entire mankind. His philosophy was not merely mundane but was deeply spiritual. His was the holistic thinking of a sublime soul. His life was the journey on earth of a great soul. I believe that mankind may progress only by adhering to Bapu's philosophy. Undoubtedly he was the greatest humanist of the 20th century.

With these words, I pay my humble homage once again to the sacred memory of the Father of our Nation.

India—a Confluence of World Religions

I AM HAPPY to be with all of you at this Sarva Dharma Samagam dedicated to a great leader who embodied the composite culture of our nation. By thus paying our homage to Indiraji, we reaffirm our commitment to her ideal of an India based on democracy, secularism and justice.

Our country is a mosaic, harmonising various cultures it encompasses. With an impressive diversity of languages, religions and ethnicities, India retained its sense of oneness through the march of history. Indeed, our history itself has been a struggle between forces of unity, seeking to promote commonalities among our people, and those of separatism and parochialism. India became India by not merely tolerating, but accepting and even promoting diversities. In doing so, it evolved its unique ethos.

The enrichment resulting from the fusion of different streams is described thus by Panditji: "I am proud of India, not only because of her ancient, magnificent heritage, but also because of her remarkable capacity to add to it by keeping the doors and

windows of her mind and spirit open to fresh and invigorating winds from distant lands... She was far too strong to be submerged by outside streams, and she was too wise to isolate herself from them."

The range of diversities in our society has naturally found expression in the co-existence of different religions. India itself gave birth to numerous faiths. And virtually every religion in the world has, in some form, taken root in our country. This co-existence of different beliefs is all the more remarkable, considering how other nations gravitated in the direction of uniformity. The tolerance of the early religions of India encouraged the inflow of other cultures.

The term dharma means that which upholds: "धारयति इति धर्मः"। In its essence, dharma is truth and truth is eternal and multi-faceted. The ideal of 'सर्व धर्म सम्भाव' is deeply rooted in our history. The *Rig Veda*, the oldest record of human intellect, speaks of God as common:

यच्चिद्धि शश्वताम् असीन्द्र साधारणस्त्वम्।
तं त्वा वयं हवामहे॥

"As, O God! Thou art for ever the common Lord of all alike. As such we invoke Thee now."

It also enjoins : एकं सद् विप्राः बहुधा वदन्ति

"The Truth can be reached by various approaches."

The *Atharva Veda* too encompasses different peoples and their faiths as it states:

यः संदेश्यो वरुणो यो विदेश्यः

"Varuna who is of our own land, and also of foreign land."

The same diversity is implicit in the *Gita*:

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः॥

"In whatever way men identify with Me, in the same way do I carry out their desires; men pursue My path, Partha, in all ways."

The openness so intrinsic to our secular culture is exemplified by this verse:

आकाशात् पतितं तोयं यथा गच्छति सागरं ।
सर्वदेव नमस्कारः केशवं प्रति गच्छति ॥

“Like rain from the sky reaches the sea, worship of any form of God reaches Kesava.”

Buddhism and Jainism, which held sway over large parts of our country, also laid emphasis on the universal message of humanity, compassion and non-violence. *Samayika Patha*, for example, preaches love for all living beings and tolerance of opposition. Consequently, both these religions had the impact of strongly reinforcing the prevalent secularism.

It is revealing that the advent of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Zoroastrianism in India were all peaceful. In a study—“India’s Bene Israel” by Shirley Isenberg—it has been noted that these religions came into India because of the hospitality of our country. Equally significantly, it is emphasised in this study that “unlike Jews in most other parts of the world, they were allowed to live in peace and harmony in India for many centuries...” And this allowed the community to retain its essential Judaism over two millennia!

The advent of Christianity too was facilitated by the attitude of co-existence. It is said that St. Thomas came to India by the sea route and converted the King of Gudnaphar in the Indus delta. He is then believed to have arrived in 52 A.D. at Kodungaloor and founded seven churches in Kerala. Islam thereafter arrived on our shores, brought by Arab traders to peninsular India.

The proliferation of religious faiths and their ability to exist in harmony built up the Indian secular culture over centuries. The initial tolerance brought to the fore elements of indivisibility and commonality in all religions. The *Gita* stresses the uniting element in the apparently diverse thus:

येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥

“Even the devotees of other Gods who worship full of faith, they also worship Me though not in conformity with the ancient rule.”

The Holy *Koran* also reiterates this theme : “Men have divided themselves into factions, but to Us they shall all return. He that does good works in the fullness of his faith, his endeavours

shall not be lost. We record them all." (Al-Anbia). The same message is contained in other religions as well.

This commonality was enlarged by the contribution of all the religions to the emergence of reform movements, minimising ritualism and promoting egalitarianism. The inter-mixture of religions with one another, and with existing customs and mores, produced the Bhakti School and Sufism. A striking example of the synthesis in culture is the Sikh religion. There is a strong secular message in these lines composed by Guru Gobind Singhji:

देहरा मसीत सोई, पूजा ओ नमाज ओई,
मानस सभै ऐक पै अनेक को प्रभाव है।
अलह अभेख सोई, पुरान ओ कुरान ओई,
ए ऐक ही सरूप सभै, एक ही बनाव है।

"Mandir or Masjid, Puja or Namaz, *Puran* or *Koran* have no difference. All human beings are equal."

The secular ethos had a powerful impact in enriching literature, language, art, music and even the architecture of our nation. Its impact may be found in the *Kural*, composed by the poet Tiruvalluvar around the 3rd century A.D, which urges: "Be pure in heart : all righteousness is contained in this one commandment : all other things are nought but empty display."

In history too, those rulers have been revered by posterity who were fair and just to all their subjects. Emperor Ashok is immortalised by his rock edict at Shahbazgarhi :

“यो हि कचि अतप्रषडं पुजेति परप्रषडं
गरहति सर्वे अतप्रषडभतिय व किसि अतप्रषडं।
दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करंतं
सो च पुन तथ करंतं बढतरं उपहंति अतप्रषडं।।”

"One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another, due to devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all others, does injure one's own religion most certainly."

Akbar was widely admired perhaps more for his secularism than for his conquests. Dara Shikoh never ascended the throne, yet left his lasting imprint on our society. This secular tradition has revealed itself time and again, in Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and others. In the contemporary era, the re-awakening of the secular spirit was manifested, above all, in the person of Bapu. His conviction that all religious thoughts finally

converge on Truth is stated thus: "I have not been able to see any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the *Bhagavad Gita*. Today, supposing I was deprived of the *Gita* and forgot all its contents but had a copy of the Sermon, I should derive the same joy from it as I do from the *Gita*."

Indiraji nurtured and developed this secular tradition during her life time. She made a generation understand the importance of secularism to our national development. She knew that to define nationalism in any terms narrower than our composite culture would be disastrous. Indiraji recognized that religion has a place in every society. But she was convinced that place was not in its politics. Secularism is not a policy, nor a political tactic. It is a deeply held belief, a profound outlook, almost a way of life. It is not a concession by the majority to the minority, but a realisation of a shared destiny.

Like Bapu and Panditji, Indiraji was a relentless crusader for national unity. Uncompromisingly opposing communalism, she declared that: "... their vision is so narrow that they cannot see that their talk and their action is against unity, is against strengthening of the country, is against the progress of the country, and is even against the very spreading of the traditions or heritage in which they say they believe."

On this day, as we remember Indiraji and recall her contribution to national integration, let us resolve to strengthen the legacy she left behind—of the many faiths of one India.

II

Economic Affairs

Achieve Quality in Ship Building

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to associate myself with this function for handing over *M.T. Jawaharlal Nehru* to the Shipping Corporation of India.

I am happy that this vessel—the largest manufactured in India—bears the name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our great national leader, the architect of modern India, and the greatest statesman of this century. Panditji's vision and leadership led to India developing her industrial capability, the strength of technical manpower, science and technology, and opened the vistas of growth, peace and prosperity. Pandit Nehru voiced India's message of peace, friendship and cooperation—between man and man, and nation and nation for building a better future for all. It is this thought that he expressed, on March 14, 1948, soon after Independence, while launching India's first Ocean-going steamer *S.S. Jal Usha* at Vishakhapatnam. He had said: "May this ship that we launched today be the beginning of many other ships, big and small, and may they convey the message of India to all corners of the world... Let us send this ship into the sea with a stout heart and in that way not only develop India but enable her to cooperate with other nations."

I should like to congratulate the engineers and workers of the Cochin Shipyard for having built this impressive vessel.

The ancient period witnessed the spread of India's trade, commerce and culture via Indian ships to the Asia-Pacific region. Countries along the rim of South-East Asia and northwards upto the courts of China and Japan were visited by our ships. We have enduring proof of this in the monuments at Angkor Vat and other places and India's cultural contribution is reflected in the language, literature, music, fine arts and customs in these countries. Study of numismatics indicates the level of trade and commerce with the East as well as with the West—much of it was conducted through maritime channels and in Indian-built vessels.

As late as in the 19th century, the renowned British ship-builder John Hillman had commented: "The Indian built teak ship, even after she has performed six voyages is equal to one of ours that has performed three"—directly admitting that Indian ship building establishments were twice as good as their British competitors.

The Cochin Shipyard has to make progress bearing this history in mind. Today, in times of intense international competition, we have to achieve quality cost-effectively. Expertise, finance and materials must be deployed with maximum efficiency and total devotion. We have to strive harder to make up for any operational liabilities and build a name for the ship-construction industry in India.

M.T. Jawaharlal Nehru will take India's message of goodwill, friendship and mutual cooperation to distant shores and, I am sure, will contribute to strengthening India's economy, and our country's bilateral relations in sphere of trade and commerce with a wide range of countries. Jawaharlal Nehru's name, borne by the ship, confers the responsibility on every individual associated with the ship be its crew or the docks, to uphold the values Panditji identified as essential for the good of all human beings, the good of our nation and all the countries and peoples of the world, their prosperity and their happiness.

Trade, Interdependence and Development

I AM VERY happy to associate myself with this function for the inauguration of the India International Trade Fair 1992. I thank the organizers for their kind invitation to me to be present with you this morning.

I regard this occasion as being of special importance. Today, November 14, 1992, is the birth anniversary of a visionary leader,

Jawaharlal Nehru, a statesman and thinker who dedicated himself to the well being of humankind, and whose contribution was made keeping in focus the needs of nations and peoples of the world for decades and generations ahead.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave tremendous impetus to the processes of growth and his consistent approach was to enhance the extent and level of international understanding, cooperation and friendship.

Each year, since 1981 an international trade fair is organized, to be opened on November 14, at Pragati Maidan, and the coming together of a large number of industrial, scientific, and technological enterprises from different countries, exhibiting their very newest products, is in my view, of particular significance. I am happy to know that this year's Fair has attracted the participation of almost 30 countries, representing the continents of Asia, Africa, the Americas and Europe.

I extend, on behalf of India, my warm greetings and felicitations to all the participating countries and I hope that their individual and collective efforts would be rewarded by the best elements of international cooperation in the spheres of scientific, technological and economic transaction, and would accelerate the process of human understanding, between nation and nation, culture and culture and man and man.

The various sectors of the India International Trade Fair 1992 cover some of the most important areas of human concern which have a particular relevance to the fashioning of the future world economy. I am glad to see the emphasis placed, in the exhibition, on technologies concerning energy, conservation and management, house building technology, the small scale industry and even on toys for children, apart from the focus on consumer products. All these sectors are crucial to the people of the Third World—as much as these are to the people of the First.

I feel it is important for us to appreciate the interdependence between the North and the South in our global economy.

Promotion of a climate conducive to investment decisions, inter-transfer of technology, commercial and industrial exchange, qualitative and quantitative enhancement in production, and bilateral and multilateral cooperation, comprise activities of far-reaching significance on a global basis.

The acceptance of the concept of an interdependent world is of basic value to the growth of stable North-South economic relations, and stable North-South economic relations are, in turn, of basic value to the evolution of a mutually beneficial and progressive world order.

The key perception that needs to be appreciated is that in our interdependent world, an increase in the production-base and in the production-range of the poorer countries will stimulate further growth in the richer countries. World markets will be enlarged, a better international division of labour will be evolved and higher incomes will be the result—in the South as well as the North.

It is perhaps not adequately known that a considerable proportion of the exports of the developed countries go to Third World countries. These goods transfers are financed by Third World countries from their own export earnings. If on the cue of protectionist policies, restrictions are evolved against Third World exports, among other effects of this could have adverse impact on Third World capacity to buy from the developed countries. Protectionism in developed countries would therefore hurt the developed countries as much, if not more, than the Third World. Trends that negatively affect economies of the Third World, are bound to afflict the economies of the developed countries also which have so much to do with the Third World. Thus, policies based on recognition of real interdependence, of national economies the world over, would, quite apparently, be indispensable for sound global economic management.

There is a good example that could be cited here to illustrate the dynamics of interdependence, in world economic history. We know of the advantage to the U.S. economy from the Marshall Plan assistance given to Europe. Whilst enabling the post-War economic reconstruction of European economies, Marshall Plan, aid boosted employment and production in the U.S. itself and helped maintain a high growth rate at a time when defence production was being scaled down and defence personnel were looking for civil jobs.

At the time when problems of post-War reconstruction in Europe confronted the world, men of vision could recognise that the immediate revitalization of European economies which were in a war-ravaged condition, was of crucial importance to the U.S. economy also. Thus a symbiotic relationship of mutual advantage

could be evolved. European economies were not regarded as potential economic competitors which should be kept under heel.

Today, it is often wrongly assessed that the Third World seeks only a redistribution of the world's wealth and, therefore, that tilting the existing balance in favour of the Third world would automatically mean an adverse change for the developed countries. Such a view would not merely be unfortunate; it would be mistaken. It would ignore the innate interdependence within the world's economy. It would miss the crucial perception that greater capability to generate wealth in Third World countries will actually raise aggregate world wealth and invigorate economies of the developed countries.

Although I am conscious that it is easier to confirm existing views than to press any revision of outlook, it is heartening that evolution of economic thought reflects the gradual adjustments made in response to the changing economic scenarios in various countries of the world.

The functioning of the international economic system has experienced over the past centuries, the application of different approaches by different countries. To a significant extent, the world's economy has been influenced by economic thought that competition would be the best regulator of economic life. We are well-acquainted with Adam Smith's contention that an "invisible hand" guides human affairs in the right direction, and, further, that the 'economic man', left to himself, would pursue not only his self-interest but would also provide service to the community.

Measured in the aggregate, the laissez-faire philosophy certainly evoked a phenomenal increase in human wealth. Where it evoked increasing disappointment, however, was in the matter of sharing the wealth that was produced. These results have been subjected to intense, comprehensive, economic analysis and, interestingly, different approaches have been adopted by different countries. Broadly speaking, in the countries which accepted the philosophy formulated by Karl Marx, the State itself became the owner of the instruments of production and controlled, overwhelmingly, all economic activity. But countries which continued, basically, to adhere to the thought initiated by Adam Smith, also began making departures from his doctrine on wider, social, considerations. Thus, legislation to prevent the growth of monopolies and cartels was undertaken; workers were given the right to form

trade unions; and, when unemployment became politically intolerable, policies were adopted—following Keynes—to stimulate aggregate demand and thus lead to the absorption of the unemployed in producing more goods to supply the increased demand. In countries primarily pursuing socialist models earlier, also, significant scope has come to be provided for individual investment enterprise and garnering of surplus value. In essence, such measures have been in the nature of correctives, applied internally, to mitigate and avoid socio-economic distortions and imbalances.

However, so far as the plane of the international economic system was concerned, none of these correctives came into operation. There was neither international socialism—in the sense of nations joining hands for exclusive ownership of certain instruments of production, nor were there measures to prevent the weaker countries from being put to avoidable disadvantage.

The existing international economic order and the doctrines in vogue for some time past—have such genesis. Extrapolating existing trends would indicate that unless there is a fundamental change in the economic thought dominating the direction of the world's economy, the problem of world poverty would, inevitably, continue increasing and untold human suffering—eventually most seriously affecting the developed nations themselves—would be unavoidable.

International cooperation, is obviously required for world-wide, inter-regional and intra-regional economic activity—if the problems of poverty, unemployment, inflation, pollution, depletion of non-renewable resources and food storages are to be tackled efficiently. Apart from safeguarding the poorer nations, such an approach has the advantage of preventing the eventual engulfment of the richer nations themselves by problems created by the impact of imbalanced economic activity and skewed flow of wealth.

A central concern before humankind today is the development of science and technology, and their utilization thereof, with a view to achieving the prosperity, sense of well being, and the happiness of people. Mere wealth, in monetary and material terms, does not predicate happiness. I am reminded of a resolution formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964, which, in my view today has a continuing relevance. He had said: "Mere material prosperity alone will not make human life rich and meaningful. Therefore, along with economic development ethical and spiritual values will have

to be fostered. This alone will lead to the full development of human resources and character. It is only on this basis that the present day acquisitive structure can be gradually changed into a society which... provides adequate incentive for the full development of the individual and the community. This is the vision of a society... wherein poverty, disease and ignorance shall be eliminated... wherein all citizens have equal opportunities and wherein ethical and spiritual values contribute to the enrichment of the individual and the community life."

I therefore see the Fair as an event with very high potential for the enhancement of the quality characteristics of the global economic system: quality characteristics in terms of quantum increase in production, productivity, energy-efficiency, environment-friendliness of industrial activity, but more so in terms of the potential of a better ordered international economy for widening and increasing human happiness.

From India's timeless past, perhaps fifty centuries ago, a hymn was composed by a great seer who had meditated upon the oneness of the human race on earth, and had defined values and ideals for the material, intellectual and spiritual progress of human beings. I would like to quote two verses composed by the author of the Hymn to the Earth, Rishi Atharvan:

यस्याः पुरो देवकृताः

क्षेत्रे विकुर्वते ।

प्रजापतिः पृथिवी विश्वगर्भमाशामाशां रष्या नः कृणोतु ॥

"On this earth, with excellent urban and rural areas, producing diverse goods, may there be prosperity and happiness in all four directions on Earth."

And, another verse, which keeps in mind the concept of conserving the ecology of the earth is:

यत्ते भूमे विखनामि

क्षिप्रं तदपि रोह तु ।

मा ते मर्म विमृश्वरि मा ते हरदयर्षिपम् ॥

"O' pure Earth, may that we utilise your resources well (for creative production) without causing you injury or harm and disturbing any vital element in you."

This approach may be many thousand year old, but has been a continuing element in the Indian ethos, in which a world view

has been foremost in the outlook of our great leaders and in our culture.

It is such global thinking for human well-being that was immanent in the mind of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. In the very birth moments of Independent India, Pandit Nehru had said: "Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom; so is prosperity now and so also is disaster in this One World which can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

Friends, I feel the climate of world opinion is now evolving towards such a view as being expeditious in terms of practical considerations of optimal policy, as much as from an appreciation of the ultimate object of human endeavour. We should strive to enlarge and strengthen the orientation of policy-makers and of those who have the power and the opportunity to influence the content and direction of economic activity, to see their work in this perspective.

With these words I have great pleasure in declaring the India International Trade Fair 1992 open. I extend my greetings and felicitations to all the participants—our honoured guests from overseas—and all others, young and old, who would come to view the exhibition.

May your efforts bear rich fruit and lead to positive and wholesome change in the processes concerning global attainment of human happiness.

A Leap-forward in Industrial Production

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be in your midst today for the inaugural function of the 10th Indian Engineering Trade Fair. This Fair has the participation of a large number of industrial undertakings from developed countries the world over. The most

Inauguration of the 10th Indian Engineering Trade Fair, New Delhi,
13 February 1993

modern technologies and product ranges are represented here. A long standing partner in India's development—Germany—is the 'Partner Country' in this Fair and it is appropriate that German enterprises have taken such an enthusiastic lead in the various exhibitions in the Fair.

Indo-German cooperation has always led to very noteworthy results. We in India appreciate the fact that some of the largest technical cooperation projects undertaken by Germany, are located in India. The Rourkela Steel Plant, the Neyveli Lignite Power Project, the Ramagundam Thermal Power Station, the Gujarat Narmada Valley Fertilizer Plant, and the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, are some outstanding examples of Indo-German cooperation in engineering, industry, technology and science.

There exists tremendous potential for further growth as a result of bilateral and multilateral endeavours. I am glad to learn that the Fair covers all the major industry segments, with special focus on automotive industry, telecommunications and machine tools. This Fair symbolizes the growing awareness, in all the participating countries, of the importance of genuine interdependence and cooperation for building a more stable, peaceful and prosperous world.

Modern science and technology, engineering and production processes can play a crucial role in tackling the enormous problems of poverty, disease and backwardness. I believe that Science guided by Humanism would prove a blessing to all on this planet. It is necessary that there should be North-South cooperation to the fullest degree as well as South-South cooperation. India is determined to contribute its utmost towards these objectives for a better future for all. India welcomes the positive initiatives in this direction by many developed and industrialized nations, including particularly Germany, Japan, USA, UK, France, the Netherlands and Italy.

India has undertaken a number of measures to minimise regulatory controls on industrial growth and investment, and to enlarge, diversify and upgrade the infrastructure for industrial growth. Almost five decades of industrial development, and the building of a vast reservoir of highly trained manpower resources, have equipped India to participate more fully in global economic activity and attract increasing foreign financial and technological investment. With enhanced attention to standardization, meticu-

lous quality control, punctuality in delivery schedules, cost-efficient and energy-efficient production ranges, there is better relative acceptability of Indian industrial production in the world market. The next few years could witness very positive enhancement in the qualitative and quantitative attributes of Indian industry—a prospect that would be of great benefit to other countries also.

Prosperity generates greater aggregate demand; and the sum total needs of a large population comprise a vital stimulus to industrial production and a strong bulwark against recessionary trends. In the post-cold war world environment, with greater investible surpluses being available for non-military development, and with clear global perception of North-South interdependence, humankind, in my view, can find the path to a new era—one of peace, growth and global prosperity, provided the mistakes of history are not repeated.

It is essential, I feel, that we should build on existing strengths and assimilate and synthesise all that is positive from outside. This approach appears suitable in the age of modern science and technology. It is exactly this thought that is found in the *Rig. Veda* — literature of over fifty centuries ago—made known to the West by the great German scholar—Professor Friedrich Max Muller:

“आनो भद्राः कृतवो यन्तु विश्वतः” (May positive influences flow in from all directions). These words could well have formed the motto for this Engineering Trade Fair in which much is to be gained by all by drawing upon and strengthening each other's knowledge and capacities.

I am glad that during the Fair, a number of well-organized conferences, seminars and workshops have been arranged for essential interaction amongst participants.

I have every confidence that the 10th Indian Engineering Trade Fair would be a rewarding experience for all.

I wish the participants and the organizers success. With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Fair.

Cooperatives for Rural Development

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be with you on this occasion for the inauguration of the 12th Indian Cooperative Conference.

I would like to express my thanks to the office bearers of the National Cooperative Union of India for their thoughtful invitation to me to be with you on this important occasion.

May I also express a word of welcome to all the delegates to this conference who have come from different parts of our country and to our guests and delegates from overseas who have come to India as participants in these deliberations.

Friends, the cooperative sector provides a dimension of major positional importance in our endeavour towards achieving the socio-economic transformation of India, with special focus on the life of the masses in India's vast rural areas.

The Cooperative Movement can enable the unification of local human resources, material inputs and energies, and the channelisation, development and expansion of the tremendous potential growth that exists in our towns, villages and hamlets across the length and breadth of India.

The potential of the cooperative approach was perceived by our great national leaders even before India became free. Perspectives that could be attained through the cooperative approach were identified after careful thinking, argument and consideration extending over years. The Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, had said: "The Cooperative Movement will be a blessing to India." He had indicated "In the course of time... cooperative bodies will... have their own shape and form which need not now be anticipated." He had referred to Charkha centres established in different parts of India as comprising: "the largest cooperative society on earth."

This insight regarding the creative potentialities of Cooperation was one with acute awareness of the value and essentiality of

democratic decentralisation and Panchayati Raj through a medium natural to India's own genius, time-honoured rural tradition and akin to the natural characteristics of Indian enterprise in our villages as well as elsewhere.

In Part-IV of the Constitution of India in the provisions concerning the Directive Principles of State Policy, Article-43 therefore refers to the "cooperative basis" for the promotion of economic growth. Our Founding Fathers envisaged initiatives of the state as would secure a full materialisation of potential of the cooperative movement in terms of agricultural, industrial and tertiary development. Jawaharlal Nehru who gave decisive impetus to the development of industrial base for the building of a modern India, was equally intent on the promotion of the cooperative movement parallel to Panchayati Raj—for achieving the transformation of our economy with its own sectoral importance in the national economy and polity. Jawaharlal Nehru said: "While the Panchayat will represent administrative aspects of village life, the cooperative will represent the economic side of village life... if the cooperatives function properly they will help in introducing...industries and other auxiliary activities... Cooperatives are good and essential (not only) for better farming but represent a higher level of work and existence for the people."

Appropriately, we can take pride today in the scope and progress of the cooperative sector in India which, (as has been mentioned), is the largest in the world: with three hundred and fifty thousand cooperatives engaging 160 million cooperators; addressing themselves to an enormous diversity of agricultural, agro-industrial and tertiary sector initiatives. The Cooperative Movement has achieved the status by virtue of the voluntary democratic participation of people and the active support of the state in terms of policy and managerial as well as financial assistance. It is necessary that further efforts are made with all due deliberation to catalyse self-reliance, viability, autonomy and integrative capacity in our cooperative institutions in the context of the diverse opportunities and endeavours in our developing economic system.

We are committed to widening and deepening the scope of democratic decentralisation. We are equally committed to the growth of the Cooperative Movement. These are essential aspects of our approach to overcome poverty as much as to advance rapidly towards a state of united endeavour, prosperity and happiness.

The recent changes introduced in terms of minimising controls on private enterprise in the sphere of commerce and industry and in economic activity generally, provides a challenge as well as an opportunity. Our cooperative structures will have to become more cost-efficient, more receptive to inputs of science and technology, and better organised to hold their own in competition with production and progress in other sectors in our country as well as in the international market. Competition should be a stimulus for higher efficiency all round, for a greater keenness of purpose, and superior performance as would validate and redeem the very basis of the cooperative approach. This will definitely come about with the right spirit enthusing all who are involved in the Cooperative Movement.

I should also like to say that India's economy is now at a stage in which the Cooperative Movement has before it great vistas of growth and fulfilment, keeping in mind the potential for spurring an agro-industrial revolution in our rural areas. The tiller of the soil, the cultivator, the farmer, our agricultural community, can receive a higher value-added quotient on their production if agro-industrialisation takes place in an orderly, bold and imaginative manner. Harnessing local resources carefully, keeping in mind the needs of the national and international market, and developing various systems of infrastructure, is essential for a full materialisation of the potential in this respect. The task of achieving an agro-industrial revolution is a task that the Cooperative Movement can contribute to with great effect. In doing so the movement will not only be stimulating processes for a qualitative and quantitative advancement in the economic well-being of our people, but would be able to function as a force of integration as would creatively involve individuals and the society alike, and lead to higher levels of social harmony, oneness and progress.

But for this, all have to participate in a spirit of dedication, and equal respect for the value of each other's labour. Mahatma Gandhi—in his 'Bapu Ke Ashirvad' on 10 June, 1945 had said: "Drops of water make the ocean, the reason being that there is complete cohesion and cooperation among the drops. The same is true of human beings." Bapu had the remarkable ability of expressing our ancient wisdom for tasks of practical, modern relevance.

It is therefore most important at this juncture, that delegates in this conference would apply themselves to various topics in the

agenda before them, touching upon all aspects of the Cooperative Movement and its growth as a viable self-reliant and democratic institution.

I am sure that the different sectors of cooperatives including banking, marketing, industrial, handlooms and handicraft cooperatives, cooperatives of weaker sections and for women, the relevance of science and technology, the modalities of participation in the national and international market, the development of cooperative leadership and human resources—all these and many other aspects of this complex, important and dynamic sector, will engage your attention.

Friends, I thank you most sincerely for associating me with your deliberations. With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the 12th Indian Cooperative Congress. I am sure your deliberations will be significant for the good and well-being of people of India, as much as for the success of the Cooperative Movement in contributing to the happiness of humankind.

Excellence of Indian Handicrafts

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you to present Awards to the eminent craftpersons and weavers who have gathered here from different regions of our country.

All of you master craftsmen who have so skilfully kept alive the creative talents of our civilisation deserve our admiration and recognition. Despite the toll of time and the imperatives of change, you have preserved the purity of those ancient arts and crafts which are part of our common heritage.

The forty-one Award winners, as is to be expected, represent the entire mosaic of India's fabled craftsmanship. In honouring these awardees, we pay tribute not only to them as individuals but

Presentation of National Awards to master craftpersons and weavers,
New Delhi, 5 March 1994

express our respect for a great tradition. Few societies in the world can claim India's expertise in handicrafting objects of beauty. In these skills, the diversity and synthesis unique to India is well represented. Every region, every State, every district and perhaps even every village of this country has brought forth its own inheritance of craft skills. Be it urban, rural or tribal, all sections of our society distinctively express with their hands the characteristics of their specific culture. In addition to the regional variation, the other notable feature of crafts in India lie in the fact that every conceivable medium — stone, metal, wood, ivory, clay, and even grass — have been used to produce artistic object of the highest quality. This custom of relying on materials drawn directly from one's natural environment is a hallmark of Indian handicrafts. Its very simplicity emphasises the deep bond between the people and their surroundings. It has ensured that handicraft and handloom traditions have struck deep roots.

Our handicrafts and handlooms are admired for their intrinsic value and beauty, as expressions of the creative spirit of our people, as concrete manifestation of their innermost urges. But they have a deeper meaning which we should never forget. It was no accident that the Father of our Nation, Bapu, in giving new impetus and direction to the national movement, chose as a symbol, a work of the hand, which he thought was evocatively representative of our national character. In his words: "Khadi is the breath of national life, like Swaraj." Gandhiji made us believe that Khadi was the soul of India and to give it up would be to sell the masses. He described it in terms which are singularly apt to all handicrafts and handlooms : "Want of the dead sameness of a machine made article is not a sign of ugliness, but is a sign of life..." He also said: "As a matter of fact, it is the variety about leaves which give a tree its life-like beauty..."

The passage to modernity has unfortunately had an adverse impact on the preservation of the precious heritage of handicrafts and handlooms. We have but to look at other countries, who having lost their traditions and skills are now making enormous efforts to recover these, to appreciate and value our crafts. It would be a sad loss indeed if in the name of progress, the Kashmiri carpet, the filigree of Orissa, the mats of Tirunelveli or the mirror work of Kutch and a myriad range of other exquisite craftsmanship in India pass into the recesses of history. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, who has done so much for the welfare of artisans

in this country rightly observed "that those whose lives the developmental efforts were to change, were the real ones still adhering to and maintaining some of the traditional culture, and by our zeal to modernize them, we squeeze dry even the lingering vestiges." But through Kamaladeviji's own work and all those of who she inspired, these vestiges, instead of fading away, have gained a fresh lease of life. It is but appropriate that on this occasion, we recall this remarkable personality and support the notable cause to which she was so deeply committed.

The process of our national progress and development should draw in the best and most wholesome elements of cultures from all directions and societies. We must remain open, as we have always, to positive ideas from wherever they originate. The *Rig. Veda* states:

“आ नो भद्राः कृतवो यन्तु विश्वतः।”

“Let noble and positive influences come to us from all sides.”

The interaction with other cultures and societies, if judicious and discerning, can be an enriching experience. We must recognise the virtues in our own society as keenly as we realise its faults. True development is the preservation of good while seeking the better. With particular relevance to handicrafts and handlooms, I cannot emphasise enough how much they represent our roots, our identities, indeed our very spirit and soul. That this spirit is vibrant today is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us.

To the millions of craft persons and weavers who have given colour to our lives, we owe a great debt, both moral and material. Ensuring their dignity is only possible when we can guarantee freedom from exploitation. Honour indeed is due to them but so too are concrete measures for their welfare and growth. It is incumbent upon all of us to ensure that the noose of material want does not strangle the budding talent of our artisans. In this context, the Central and State Government agencies, financial institutions, cooperatives and voluntary organisations have all got a role to play, individually and in tandem. They must continue their efforts to improve productivity while maintaining quality by facilitating access to better tools and equipment. The marketing of handicrafts, domestic and international, must also be strengthened.

Handlooms and Handicrafts are intrinsic to the culture of different regions and States of our country. That the products of one region are getting growing appreciation in another and when

there is an intermixture of crafts and their traditions, it is indicative of the strength of our integrative processes. Respect and appreciation for the individuality of other cultures is at the heart of synthesis in the Indian ethos.

I have great pleasure in congratulating the recipients of the national awards and merit certificates and wish them greater success in their creative endeavours. I am confident that by their example, they will encourage others to continue this tradition of excellence, of creating beauty by the skill of the hand.

Management Education— Prerequisite for Growth

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to lay the foundation stone of Vinod Gupta School of Management at the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur. This School of Management has been made possible through the creation of a two million dollar endowment by Shri Vinod Gupta, an alumnus of the IIT, Kharagpur. It is a testimony to the loyalty and affection which the Institute has inspired in Shri Vinod Gupta, and equally, to his desire to contribute to the nation's progress.

The bond between an academic institution and its alumni is a very unique one. For none should forget the fount of knowledge from which they have drunk. It is but natural that the Institute should become a meeting ground for its alumni to exchange experiences and knowledge. This will benefit students, both current and past, and I am sure that it will become an established convention. Endowments represent another facet of the living contact of students with their academic institutions and I hope that this generous donation by Shri Gupta would be emulated by many others, both outside the country and in India itself. This gesture is in accordance with the highest Indian traditions. As the *Rig Veda* states:

“दक्षिणावन्तो अमृतं भजन्ते

दक्षिणावन्तः प्रतिरन्त आयुः”

Laying of the foundation-stone of the Vinod Gupta School of Management, I.I.T., Kharagpur, 16 July 1994

“The generous attain immortality. They extend their longevity.”

The Indian Institutes of Technology are premier centres of learning and research. Their inter disciplinary approach has undoubtedly produced quality engineers and technologists. It has enabled IIT graduates to make their mark in other related professions as well. Management is a field where students of the Institute have distinguished themselves in particular, as management concepts are inherent in technical education, but also because engineering and business increasingly go together. It is most appropriate, therefore, that this campus should now have its own School of Management. This proximity, physical and intellectual, to the Institute will, I am sure, give the School of Management its own unique character.

In the last few years, our national agenda has been undergoing significant changes. After consolidating our economic and technological base, we have now embarked on a process of reform and liberalisation which will allow our population to get the full benefits of technology, both from India and elsewhere. The movement in the direction of a more open economy, greater international trade and a sharper competitive edge necessitates an expansion of our management capabilities. It also supports the objective of a greater role for the private sector in the economy. The School of Management is a significant contribution at an important juncture in our development process.

There was a time when only those within the country were seen as participants in the process of nation building. The changed environment, however, requires broadening our mental horizons. We should recognize that a number of our fellow countrymen living abroad are equally desirous of contributing to societal development. They can be catalysts in our reactions with other nations. Many of our fellow countrymen are well established in their specific fields and should be encouraged to bring to bear their knowledge and experience on the future of our society, for which they retain affection and in which they have stakes. For an Indian anywhere, ties to India are and should be abiding.

The School of Management, the foundation-stone of which I had the pleasure of laying today, is a notable example of this attachment. I hope that its realisation would serve as an inspiration to others in different parts of the world who are interested in seeing this nation develop, and who realise that the greatness of India should be the pride of every Indian.

Enhance Industrial Base for Development

I AM VERY glad to be here on the occasion of the inauguration of the Pig Iron Plant of Lanco Industries.

Pig iron, as you are all aware, is the basic raw material for our engineering and ancillary industries. With the steady expansion of our economy, the demand for pig iron has grown immensely. While production has doubled in the last two decades, the demand has grown much faster. Moreover, the shift in emphasis to steel production in big integrated steel plants has put greater responsibility on secondary producers to meet the requirements of pig iron. The realisation of this project will initially contribute 90,000 tonnes of pig iron annually to our economy. It will give direct employment to 225 and has a downstream employment potential of many times that number.

Mini blast furnaces have the advantage of affordable capital cost and a limited gestation period as compared to Integrated Steel Plants. They are ideally suited to meet the requirements of local foundries and at the same time, cater to steel making as well. The usage of waste gases from the blast furnace to produce power for captive use is a positive aspect of this project. I am also glad that efforts are under way at this plant to avoid dumping of fine material, to recycle its metallurgical waste, and to utilise the granulated slag for producing slag cement.

Industrialisation is a complex process anywhere. It is particularly so in our country as we seek to make up for lost time after two centuries of colonial domination. The creation of a national industrial base to support various productive activities has been our major goal. Since Independence, we have made significant headway and names like Bhilai and Bokaro come readily to mind. But as in other aspects of human activity, it is important to bear in mind that our endeavours should reflect the realities on the ground and cater to the aspirations of the people. The reality of India is that we are a large dispersed economy. In our setting, excessive centralisation is neither desirable, nor indeed, feasible.

These considerations must be taken into account as we formulate our development strategy. Our production centres are spread over the country as is our labour. Each state, each region, each district has its own requirements. Our industry, therefore, has necessarily to be decentralised. Heavy industry has to be supplemented adequately by medium and small scale industry, for it is only then that their full employment potential can be realised.

Panditji, whose vision and commitment had such a major role to play in the industrialisation of independent India, had this to say: "I am all for the latest techniques; let there be no mistake about it. But it must be the latest technique applicable to the conditions of India... In building India, what is the good of my getting from outside some very fine machines which employ the latest techniques if there is no background to fit them in or work them here? The problem is not what you call a bullock cart economy versus later techniques. The problem is how to have the latest techniques so that they fit in with the structure of India."

Mini blast furnaces are appropriate examples of what is needed in our conditions. Other large countries like Brazil and China have also found them useful in meeting local requirements of pig iron. With the process of economic liberalisation and reform gaining ground, economic activity will definitely intensify across the country. The spread of activity should go beyond the present confines of industrially forward regions. Medium and small industry have a major role to play in taking the benefits of the modern technology to every corner of the nation.

The completion of the Pig Iron Plant has logically been followed up by a proposal to set up a plant to produce slag cement. I understand that the latter is planned for a capacity of 65,000 tonnes per annum and will use the surplus power available from the captive power plant. Other by-products including heat and fines will also be utilised. This is a welcome step, both for the rigour of its material and energy utilisation, as also to reduce pollution.

I very much welcome the fact that this is a venture which is primarily the achievement of young technocrats. The vigour of every nation is the commitment, energy and enthusiasm of its youth. I am greatly heartened when I see concrete examples of the productivity of young minds. It reaffirms my faith in the future of India. The involvement of non-resident Indians in the project is

another positive aspect. These Indians have a vital role to play in ensuring that India can both receive and contribute to global technological advances. They also help sharpen our competitive edge.

It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate the Pig Iron Plant. I congratulate Lanco Industries, their management and staff, on this auspicious occasion. I am sure that their endeavours will be successful and will productively contribute to national development.

Growth, Equity and Cooperation

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be here with all of you to mark the Platinum Jubilee of the Federation of Karnataka Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

The State of Karnataka and the city of Bangalore in particular, has a significant place in the economic life of this nation. Industrialisation had taken root here even prior to Independence and the State has since been in the forefront of the process of national reconstruction. I believe that Karnataka today has 700 large and medium industries and over 1.25 lakh small-scale units. In recent years, there has also been a visible growth of high technology industry. A pleasant climate, a composite culture, a disciplined workforce and a cosmopolitan environment has given the State an enviable reputation which will serve to continue attracting investment.

As representatives of a leading industrial State, your concerns are naturally focused on the process of economic reform and liberalisation currently underway in the country. The last few years have witnessed a substantial relaxation in the degree of control and regulation over economic activity. Upgrading the usage of technologies, improving the quality of products and expanding

production are key aspects of our effort. Our mature private sector is being encouraged to shoulder greater responsibilities commensurate to both their capabilities and their confidence. The society as a whole benefits from this as more competition can only be to the advantage of the consumer. This process of change has, in part, resulted from an awareness that global technological advancements can make an important contribution to improving the living standards of our people. There is also growing consciousness that our significant comparative advantages can be used for a more vigorous participation in international trade. Foreign trade too can contribute to enhancing quality consciousness in our domestic market. The climate for improved productivity includes upgrading the infrastructure and encouraging more intensive internal trade. Reform in our internal and external policies go step in step, each supporting the other. Together, they will create opportunities and it is for all of you to take full advantage of it.

The changes which our society is passing through will influence many aspects of our life. They raise expectations which may not always be easy to fulfil. Our thinking will have to keep pace with the rapidity of these changing times. Our work ethic must improve, as it is the culture of work which shapes a society. Indeed, discipline can multiply the potential of our trained manpower. The future also demands greater individual initiative and personal responsibility. Self help is the best help and we must each seek to draw on our own resources rather than to look to others. Government cannot be expected to solve all problems. Every component of our society should bear its fair share of burden and to contribute its utmost, knowing that the welfare of each individual lies in common good.

Our economic progress and achievements in the last 47 years has been made possible by the stability of our political system and public trust in its objectives and fairness. The commitment to meet the aspirations of our people to a better standard of living remains our basic goal. Economic growth and social justice are not only compatible but in fact, sustained growth is possible only if it has the support of the cross section of society. Our developmental strategy should, therefore, be aware of the dangers of elitism and must not accentuate inequalities. Nor should the process be excessively urban centred. The majority of India lives in villages and their ability to create national wealth has grown with time. The eventual aim of economic reform is, after all, the greater prosperity of our people, as a whole.

India has always been an open society. We have traditionally welcomed interaction with other cultures, both in our country itself and outside. We have a proud maritime history and there was an age when our culture and our goods reached the corners of the globe. In fact, finding routes to India was a priority for other nations. Our openness has always been a strength, and we have emerged richer through the process of intermingling. Bapu, whose 125th anniversary we commemorate this year, advised us that :

“I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.”

This message of judicious interaction applies as much to economics and technology as it does to culture and religion and is very relevant to our current situation.

This Chamber was founded in May, 1916 by Bharat Ratna Dr. M. Visvesvarayya, who is rightly regarded as the Father of modern Karnataka. He had a key role in establishing a number of industries here, ranging from iron and steel, paper, cement and sugar to sandal wood and silk. He established the Mysore Bank, the insurance department of the Mysore Government and the Government Engineering College. Above all, his name is associated with the Krishnarajasagar Dam on the Cauvery river, a project which brought agricultural prosperity to a large part of Karnataka. His life and work embodies the best in a synthesis of culture. His interaction with other economies, particularly Japan, led him to promote industrialisation, encourage economic organisation and enhance productivity. Shri Visvesvarayya's motto—produce or perish — is as relevant today as it was then.

It is appropriate that today, we honour this great son of Karnataka, this great son of modern India, through the unveiling of his bust in this Chamber and by the release of First Day Cover commemorating his contributions.

I thank you all for giving me the opportunity to share some of my concerns on our economic future with you. Once again, I extend my felicitations on the occasion of your Platinum Jubilee. I am confident that the entrepreneurs and the people of Karnataka will strive to realise Visvesvarayya's dream of a resurgent India.

Dynamism of Small-scale Industry

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with all of you today as we honour outstanding small-scale entrepreneurs of our Nation.

The Ministry of Industry has instituted these National Awards to promote excellence in entrepreneurship and quality in the small-scale sector. The rate of growth, the use and choice of technology, product development and quality control, diversification, marketing, management, self-dependence and location of the enterprise are the criteria for the Awards. Awards to the most outstanding women entrepreneurs and the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe entrepreneurs are also being given away today, as special recognition awards. I am indeed very happy to present these Awards and I congratulate all the deserving recipients.

The small-scale sector is an important component of our national industrial base and the driving force of our development efforts. It is the vital link in the industrialisation process which actually takes modern technology to the people. While heavy industry creates the overall basis for greater production, it is Small Industry through which the downstream benefits reach the consumers. Small-scale industrialisation is thus the prerequisite for balanced growth. It is no accident that those States and regions in our country which have invested in this sector have reaped the rewards of development in a fuller measure.

Employment has a central place in our national agenda as it is only through the widening of purchasing power that the economy can truly expand. Accordingly, it was included in the Directive Principles of State Policy in our Constitution. Article 41 of the Constitution provides for the state to make effective provision for securing the right to work, Article 42 for just and humane conditions of work, and Article 43 for a living wage and a decent standard of life for workers.

Industrialisation is not visualised as an end objective in itself, but as the means through which economic activity can be intensi-

fied, wealth created, and opportunities for work multiplied. Small industry has particular relevance to the generation of jobs for our people. By its very nature, it is the more labour intensive segment of industry. It can be located in both urban and rural India and uses a range of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour. The 23 lakh registered units today are a source of livelihood to almost 1.4 crore workers and constitute a critical bridge between heavy industry and village industry.

The diversity of India is expressed in many forms. Among them is its economic facet. Various regions of our nation have developed at their own pace, leading to disparities. Complex reasons, going far back into history, account for this phenomena of differential development. But what is recognized today is that our national unity requires that these regional economic gaps be narrowed. We must not allow any part of India to feel left out from the mainstream of economic development. Indeed, the more remote the region, the greater should be its stake in our national integrity and prosperity. Small industry can play a large part in ensuring this objective. It is ideally suited to tap local potential, use local resources, and cater to the requirement of local markets. This flexibility from being small and self-managed can become a major advantage in redressing our internal imbalances.

Economic activity in every country has its own distinctive characteristics. Small industry appears to have drawn upon our entrepreneurial tradition and reflects well our cultural traits. Its responsive and flexible management style is its basic strength. It utilises to the full our greatest asset—skilled labour. All this contributes to the dynamism and vitality of the small-scale sector and to its rate of growth, which is significantly higher than for industry as a whole. I believe that this year, the growth is expected to cross 7 per cent, which is truly a commendable performance.

A number of incentives and concessions have been offered to entrepreneurs setting up small-scale industries by both the Central Government and State Governments. This is as it should be, for Government can create the climate for the rapid growth of small industry. The experience in most States of establishing industrial areas and industrial estates to meet, in an organized manner, the needs of small-scale units has been positive. Indeed, there is a strong case for further strengthening the financial and infrastructural support to this sector. Providing adequate power,

improving communications, facilitating logistics, ensuring greater access to credits and reducing bureaucratic bottlenecks are the priorities which need to be addressed.

Organisations have been set up at various levels to foster growth in the small-sector and provide technical and managerial support. The role of the Small Industry Development Organisation is notable in this regard. The needs of the small industry such as standardisation, technology upgradation and availability of human resources are being given greater attention. I am glad to note that new initiative with respect to small industry are being taken to strengthen entrepreneurship development and management capabilities, to improve quality control and enhance their export potential.

The social relevance of small industry is not limited to employment generation. The encouragement being given to women entrepreneurs is an important aspect, as it encourages the neglected half of our society to play their rightful role in our development. Similarly, the support given to weaker sections of the society and to backward areas to enter the industrial arena is very commendable. It is a matter of particular satisfaction that both the Special Awards being given today are to entrepreneurs from the North-Eastern region.

Economic liberalisation and reform poses its own challenge to the small-scale sector. It is evident that our private sector has reached a degree of maturity where it can, and should, shoulder a greater share of responsibilities. The de-control and de-regulation of economic activity affords opportunities which can be taken full advantage of by our capable, talented and confident entrepreneurs. We are entering an era where global trade and technology transfers will have growing importance. In this competitive environment, we cannot be effective abroad if we are not competitive at home. Our work culture must be oriented towards greater production, so as to maximize our labour advantages. A more open economy is not only to the benefit of the consumer but is in the self-interest of industry, which must rise above protectionism and complacency. Keeping pace with contemporary technology is of utmost importance. Where small industry is concerned, this is possible both through their own initiative and by close interaction with large and medium industry.

Small-scale units have a significant place in India's export profile, and account for almost a third of our total exports. An era

of greater competition will inevitably lead to higher expectations. Small industry must meet the twin requirements of standardisation and scheduling. These two criteria will determine the reputation of Indian products abroad and compromising on either is to our national detriment.

As we seek our rightful place in the global economy, the nation has high hopes of the small-scale sector. With their tradition of vitality and dynamism, I am sure that our entrepreneurs will rise to the occasion.

Diversify Exports

I AM VERY happy to be with all of you this morning to present the National Export Awards for 1991-1992. The occasion is particularly noteworthy, as it is the Silver Jubilee of this scheme, to recognise and honour outstanding exporters. May I, at the outset, extend my felicitations to the deserving awardees.

Export Awards reflect diverse aspects of our export performance. Criteria for selecting recipients include growth in exports, development of new products, exports to new market, exports of services, execution of projects abroad, meeting international quality standards and promoting Indian brands abroad. Consideration is given to exports by small-scale and cottage industry. All these criteria, together, signify the high standards to which Indian exporters aspire, and to which they must adhere, if they are to reflect the coming of age of our economy.

Awardees being honoured today represent the broad spectrum of our export profile. They include exporters of cut and polished diamonds, jewellery, leather garments, cotton fabrics, readymade garments, bicycles, granite, electronic goods, chemicals, vehicles, agricultural products, computer software, steel pipes and tubes and wire, marine products and processed food. And their markets too are quite varied, from North America and Europe, to West Asia, Africa, and East Asia. The growing depth and diversity of

exports is a matter of satisfaction and should encourage our endeavours to secure a rightful share of global trade.

International commerce is not new to India. Interaction with other nations is evident at every stage of our history. Our coastal areas—Gujarat, Malabar, Konkan, Tamil Nadu and Bengal—have long witnessed the comings and goings of vessels bound for foreign lands. References to foreign trade may be found in our classics, like the Tamil *Shilappadikaram*. The impact of international commerce was visible even in our inland cities like Pataliputra, Vijayanagar, Agra and Mathura. Trade was part and parcel of our larger relationship with other societies, which led to the enrichment of our knowledge and culture. India was home to foreign traders of Jewish and Armenian origin. We were the destination for explorers from Greece, China and Arabia. Our own traders and travellers went out to explore other cultures and markets, being as familiar with the islands of Indonesia as with the towns of Persia. These historical aspects of our foreign trade illustrate a long tradition which we seek to revive today. In vigorously entering the global arena, we are not charting a new path, but picking up a thread of history which was snapped to our detriment.

We have now reached a stage where we can, once again, benefit from global trade, services and technology transfers. This is in no small measure due to the vision of the leaders of our freedom struggle, in particular, that of Panditji. With Independence came a determination to ensure that exploitative relationships of the colonial era would be put behind us. No longer would India be reduced to being a mere source of commodities or of indentured labour. To overcome this regime of inequality, we laid the basis for heavy industry and built up a modern infrastructure. Small and medium industries proliferated as a consequence, giving depth to our economy. A national scientific and technological base was created. Technical and management institutions were set up. Through careful planning optimum results were obtained from our limited resources. In agriculture too, applications of technology and prudent socio-economic policies allowed us to not only feed a population two-and-a-half times of what it was at the time of Independence, but to even contemplate agricultural exports. Our present economic reforms are a reaffirmation of this past, and not its rejection. We seek to build on those economic foundations, now consolidated, so as to meet contemporary challenges, with all the confidence emanating from a stable economic and political system.

The international economic scene today offers significant possibilities for our greater participation, even as it presents us with numerous challenges. The signing of the GATT by 123 nations in April this year has radically transformed the world trade order. Overall movement is towards freer trade, and this can work to the benefit of nations like India, with comparative advantages. The emergence of regional trading blocs is another notable development. It will certainly increase trade within the bloc, but must not be allowed to restrict trade outside. Reduction of agricultural subsidies and the gradual elimination of quantitative restrictions are steps which hold out promise for our exports. The changing perception of global trade towards mutual advancement is encouraging.

Let us realise that none of the benefits will flow automatically. Our manufacturers and traders will have to work hard to establish themselves. Attempts will be made to offset our advantages, by greater emphasis on social aspects of economic activity. We will have to ensure that the concept of patents is not used unfairly to our detriment. The challenge of high qualitative standards, competitive pricing, adhering to delivery schedules, after sale services and sales promotion and marketing will have to be met. The products we export must be characterised by growing value addition and sophistication if India is to make a name in international commerce.

Economic trends point to the resurgence of developing economies, particularly of Asia. Between 1990-93, developing countries have increased their imports by 37 per cent, which is more than the total increase in world imports. At the same time, their exports have risen by 22 per cent. Today, they have emerged as the driving force behind global economic growth. Projections for the next decade point to South-Asia having a growth rate twice that of industrialized countries. We, in India, have a history of commerce, a tradition of entrepreneurship, a large pool of highly trained scientific talent, and a reservoir of skilled manpower. These must translate into a vigorous export performance, for expanding trade is an important path out of poverty.

The trade picture for the last two years has been relatively positive. In 1993-94, our exports recorded a 20 per cent growth in dollar terms. For the last five months of the current fiscal year, our exports registered a 10.6 per cent increase, crossing \$9.6 billion. If the trend is sustained, we can achieve a 17 per cent increase for

the current year. It would, thus, seem that economic reforms and liberalisation have begun to yield dividends. Our export community, however, requires sustained fiscal, infrastructural and administrative support. This simplification of rules and streamlining of procedures, which has begun, must proceed further. The quantum of export credit must expand. The changing times must be reflected in priority being accorded to economic issues in our interaction with other nations, and in our diplomacy.

No economy develops in a vacuum. It must be supported by corresponding advancements in education, in science and technology, in public health, in communications and in the infrastructure. As we proceed along with the path of economic reform and sharpen our competitive edge, adequate investments in all these related areas are imperative. Let us realise that development is a holistic process. To the extent that we can develop our communications, we will be facilitating our interaction with the outside world. To the degree that we impart better education, our workers will become more skilled. As we absorb and develop technologies, our products will be more sophisticated. Neglect of any one aspect of progress will lead to costs in another.

Once again, I congratulate the winners of the National Export Awards who are present here. Your endeavours today, and in the future, to expand foreign trade represent a significant contribution to our national development and reconstruction.

Training for Development

IT WAS WITH great pleasure that I accepted the invitation to be with all of you today at the 23rd World Conference of the International Federation of Training and Development Organisations. This gathering also marks the Silver Jubilee Convention of the Indian Society for Training and Development. May I, at the very outset, extend my greetings to all delegates, from India and from abroad.

Inauguration of the World Conference of the International Federation of Training and Development Organisations, New Delhi, 8 November 1994

Focusing on the theme, "Global changes and stability in 2000 A.D."- this Conference will be discussing issues vital to our times. Your discussions will cover a broad spectrum, touching on various facets of human activity. A common thread connecting these topics is the importance of the development of human resources.

Human resource development can be approached at different levels and from differing perspectives. In an organisation, it can increase productivity, enhance creativity and sharpen the competitive edge. It provides flexibility and encourages innovation. Improvement of human resources leads to the improvement in the quality of products and of services. Transposed to a higher level, the same result acquires greater significance. Even as we seek to make an organisation more productive, so too we endeavour in respect of a nation. Motivation, creativity and enrichment of life can be a collective goal, just as easily as an individual one.

The importance of human resources to development has begun to be increasingly recognised in the last decade. Conceptually, it focuses on people, rather than on wealth. Furthermore, it seeks to bring diverse people closer to address common problems. It is a testimony to the awareness generated in this regard that the progress of societies is no longer judged purely by economic criteria, but by human development indices also.

This recognition, that public policy deals with human beings, is imperative for policy makers and analysts alike. It will then enable policies and decisions to be judged in terms of the consequences which they have on lives of men and women. It will also help focus on issues which really matter to all round development: emphasising democracy, human rights, education, health care, overcoming gender discrimination, protecting environment, and reaffirming cultural values. It can harmonise the need to unleash the energy and talents of individuals with the collective goal of taking the society forward.

Every society has its own problems. They symbolise an inadequacy somewhere in addressing issues important to its people. The examples of the phenomena of street children, of child labour or the neglect of the girl child come to mind in respect to some societies. In others, it is visible in the growth of violence, homelessness, drug addiction, racialism, abuse of human rights or of religious persecution. Whatever its form, these are manifestations of the need for better management of societies. An inter-

cultural and cross-country sharing of experiences can improve our collective understanding of how to address such problems.

It is in the context of the human factor that the paradox of change and stability must be examined. Change is inevitable and often desirable. The need for stability is, however, underestimated. When change was slow and incremental, its impact on people and institutions was more absorbable. But with the advancement of technology, the world is moving ahead with ever greater rapidity. In doing so, it opens up the prospect of discontinuities or even turmoil. To prevent upheavals, it is necessary to secure a balance between change and stability. At the same time, stability must not serve to perpetuate the status quo. This management of change, precisely because it concerns human beings and human lives, is one of the greatest challenges before us.

Looking at 2000 A.D., the twin problems of poverty and population have to be given the utmost priority. In many nations, particularly in the South, the expanding population is a drain on resources and threatens to undermine whatever progress has been made so far. These are many reasons for such high birth-rates and all of them have to be addressed to evolve a lasting solution. Education, in particular, can significantly shape population patterns. Investment in the social sectors must come to be seen as antipoverty measures. This is one area where the status quo is dangerous and change in the positive direction is necessary for stability.

The collapse of Cold war and of bloc politics has been a momentous development this decade. The individuality of nations has been strengthened allowing them to exercise their own judgement on issues important to them. It has also promoted the expansion of democracy in many parts of the world. In a parallel movement, command economies have begun the transition to market economies. The management of these processes assume great importance. Where results do not match aspirations, there can be a dangerous loss of faith in the ability of democracy to deliver the goods.

Stresses and strains within societies and between them have to be addressed in a timely manner. Conflicts can no longer be isolated. Even as we see the resurgence of democratic values, we witness the eruption of ethnic conflicts and fundamentalist violence. Tolerance of differences and synthesis of differing views are key concepts in global political management. Pluralistic societies

are acquiring ever greater importance, as they illustrate the reconciliation of diversity. Appreciating and nurturing such societies is, therefore, vital.

Economic changes during the same period have similarly evoked both hope and concern. We are moving in the direction of a global economic order where each nation is encouraged to believe that it can both contribute and benefit. The utilisation of comparative advantages, and the reduction of subsidies and quantitative restrictions is welcome. Reduction of economic barriers has to be a managed process as vulnerable nations cannot be completely exposed overnight. Using social or environmental issues to secure trade advantages is a short sighted approach which must be rejected. The message of globalisation will gain acceptability only if it reverses impoverishment and reduces inequalities.

Few issues encapsulate the relationship between change and stability as does the preservation of the environment. The depletion of natural resources which has accompanied the expansion of industry has brought into question the very stability of our planet. That poverty and pollution strengthen one another is evident. Our common search for a solution to this global problem has resulted in support for sustainable development. Carrying this process forward is of utmost importance.

In a shrinking world, the linkages binding different societies is daily growing. Our challenges and our opportunities are being recognised as common. The information revolution has raised the level of aspirations of people. No section of the world is resigned to neglect any longer. The concept of development itself is expanding. The imponderable element remains the human being, and it is by addressing the complexity of issues relating to human development that we can truly serve to build a better world. The search for new ideas is an unceasing one. As to the task ahead, I can best put it in the words of Mahatma Gandhi:

“In this age of wonders, no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult, is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen. The impossible is ever becoming possible.”

I am sure that the deliberations of this Conference would be productive and I convey my best wishes for its success.

Technology for a Better Tomorrow

TODAY, AS THE Institution of Engineers (India) celebrates its Platinum Jubilee, a significant chapter in our technological history gets written. I am happy to be sharing this moment in your company.

The establishment of the Institution in 1920 symbolised our exploration of new frontiers of knowledge. The founders of the Institution recognised the winds of industrialisation which were sweeping the world. In their wisdom, they foresaw the critical role which engineering could play in national reconstruction. And so this learned society, the Institution of Engineers (India), came to be created, to spearhead the advance of engineering in India.

As India's apex engineering body, its responsibilities are diverse and have grown appreciably over the years. These include producing informative publications, organising seminars and conferences, and hosting special events. The IEI has set up various fora to focus on technological issues of contemporary concern. Bodies established by it include the Engineering Staff College in Hyderabad, the National Design and Research Forum in Bangalore, Rural Development Forum near Calcutta, and Water Management Forum in Ahmedabad. Its contribution to technical education, by examining and certifying the professional acumen of aspiring engineers, remains invaluable. In constant touch with the changes in our economy, the IEI has a unique ability to guide technical education to match the requirements of industry. It has also played a vital role in setting up national standards. Various activities undertaken by IEI have not only enriched the knowledge base of its members, but have contributed to raising India's engineering consciousness.

The growth of the IEI over 75 years reflects the expansion of our economy, the diversification of our national capabilities and the growing sophistication of our technologies. IEI began with 138 corporate members. This has now reached almost 68,000. In addition, it has more than 2.7 lakhs non-corporate members. The

Platinum Jubilee of the Institution of Engineers (India), Calcutta,
17 December 1994

first examination it conducted in 1928 was attended by 4 candidates. Today, this has increased to 1,57,000 candidates who appear at 87 centres in India and abroad. Institutionally too, the expansion of activities is reflected in the IEI growing from 4 technical sections to 15 full-fledged divisions, each publishing its own journals. National awareness of the importance of this institution may be gauged by the fact that Dr. Zakir Husain inaugurated its present headquarters in 1968, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi addressed its Golden Jubilee in 1970.

The challenges and opportunities facing the engineering profession today are of a new dimension. We have embarked on a programme of economic reform and liberalisation. De-licensing and de-regulation represent an assessment that the private sector is now capable of bearing a larger share of national responsibilities. These policies also reflect the need to acquire and absorb new technologies which have the potential to change our lives. At the global level, there is confidence in our ability to compete and secure for India a fair share of international trade.

Engineers and technologists have a significant role to play in ensuring the success of these policies. Even as we speak of taking our country into the 21st century, we must not lose sight of ground realities. Basic requirements of our people in terms of health, sanitation, education etc., have yet to be fully met. Reforms themselves will inevitably lead to enhanced aspirations which, in turn, will generate its own pressures. We cannot lose sight of the social goals of development. Nor is it permissible that in the name of progress, existing disparities widen even further. Change will be viewed positively only if it visibly improves the daily life of an average Indian. This burden of translating our aspirations into reality is very much on our engineers.

The quest for perfection is a driving force for technological betterment. The glamorous face of technology is the higher end of the spectrum : computers, communications, space research, biotechnology, nuclear energy applications, etc. With their immense promise, they naturally tend to capture the imagination. But technology can have a real impact only when it is socially relevant. In a country like India, it must be dedicated to ending poverty and stagnation. It must focus on housing, hygiene, clothing, providing drinking water, crop management and health care. And above all, it must result in expanding meaningful employment for the mass of our people.

The history of humankind is one of advancement of technology. In recent times, there has been growing awareness of the need to harmonise technology with the limited resource base of our planet. It is increasingly accepted that we must support and sustain economic growth, while strengthening the ecological balance and preserving our environment. To implement this, our industry has to be educated about the ecological consequences of its actions. Effluent treatment and waste management must become its second nature. Our transportation, for example, must use cleaner technologies. In designing new products too, environmental factors must be taken into account.

Today, the bulk of our technologies are based on non-renewable resources. While these have produced undeniable benefits, their price in terms of environment degradation has indeed been heavy. A major challenge before the engineering profession is now to make our society shift to renewable resources. It is a global problem, but one particularly important for India, where population pressure can deplete non-renewable resources even faster. I am, therefore, very glad that the IEI has chosen as its central theme for its Platinum Jubilee : "Technology for a Better Tomorrow."

To progress speedily on this journey of development on which we embarked is our national endeavour. We must become more competitive economically. We must constantly improve technologically. We have to be socially sensitive and ecologically conscious. Forty-five years ago, addressing this very forum, Jawaharlal Nehru said that, "Indian engineers should give their plans a social outlook". He urged the engineers of the country to bring to bear their expert knowledge to assist common people in improving their methods. Over the years, the range of technologies at our command have grown. These must be purposefully applied to our national rejuvenation.

This is a gathering, literally and metaphorically, of the builders of new India. I am indeed happy that you have associated me with an important event in your professional development. I am sure that the Institution of Engineers will grow from strength to strength in the coming years.

New Vistas for Leather Industry

I AM VERY happy to be with all of you today as the College of Leather Technology celebrates its Platinum Jubilee. I extend my felicitations to the College, its management, faculty and students.

Beginning with the usage of skins in ancient times, leather work evolved through craftsmanship to emerge as a major industry. Modern technology has significantly expanded the scope and diversity of this industry. Leather chemistry, leather technology and designing aids have led to the introduction of new types of leather and leather products. In India, the College of Leather Technology has been the pioneer for education and research in this field. By disseminating technology and training personnel, it has played an invaluable role in the modernisation of a traditional occupation.

The nature of the leather industry has been such that it has provided significant employment opportunities, both in rural and urban areas. It has also been an avenue for the economic advancement of backward sections of our society. The employment aspect of this industry is noteworthy, and as we look forward to the prospect of its expansion in the years ahead, will gain even greater importance.

In its 75 years of existence, this College has been a major source of technical personnel in the field of leather. Beginning with the Certificate Course in Tanning, the College offers Degree Course in Leather Technology now. I understand that a Post-Graduate Course is also under preparation and is to be introduced shortly. As the oldest institution in leather technology, meeting the growing requirement for trained manpower is one of the responsibilities of the College.

The demand for leather products itself has been steadily rising over the years, both domestically and internationally. Our products are gaining recognition for their quality, their range and their competitiveness. Exports of leather and leather products

have crossed Rs. 4,000 crore annually, constituting about 7 per cent of our total exports. It is a testimony to the growth of our leather industry that value-added products make up three-fourth of our exports. The promise which leather industry holds for increased foreign trade was recognised by the decision to institute the National Leather Development Programme. Assisted by the UNDP, this envisages the integrated development of the industry, with emphasis on research and modernisation, training of manpower, control of pollution and improvement in marketing. This College has an important place in that programme.

The economic reforms which our nation has embarked upon has created a new climate in which the leather industry, like others, can expand. Greater encouragement is being given today to entrepreneurship and export activity. It is our objective to derive full benefit from our comparative advantages. The confidence in the competitiveness of our industry is reflected in this desire to participate more extensively in the global economy. All this will naturally have its impact on the future of our leather industry.

I am given to understand that a major leather complex is being established in Calcutta, involving an investment of Rs. 560 crore. No doubt, this will be followed by others. The enhancement of employment possibilities as a result of major investment in the field of leather requires sustained attention. I believe that a projection has been made that by the end of the century, the industry will need almost a million additional employees, many of them at the managerial level. This represents a challenge which this College, and other similar institutions, must meet.

Leather industry has long been associated with problems of pollution. In its expansion, therefore, we must endeavour to maximise economic benefits, while limiting environmental damage. Leather technologists today focus on improving the quality of leather and its derived products. In developing and advancing leather technologies, research must have as one of its major aims, the minimising of pollution.

Indian industry is today poised at an important juncture. It has matured to a point, where it can stand on its own feet and compete with industries of other nations. The process of entering fully the global economic arena, has to be a graduated one. However, it is evident that our economy is moving in the direction of competitiveness. This requires an unremitting emphasis on

quality and standards. Ultimately skilled manpower is our greatest asset, and therefore, greater investment is needed in developing our human resources. The role of technical institutions in this context is of vital importance, as they produce the cadre of technologists, researchers and skilled personnel who make up a modern nation.

The modernisation of our economy is impelled by our desire to enlarge prosperity by increasing production and services. Reform programmes will inevitably be judged by the impact which they have on the daily lives of an average citizen. Therefore, it is imperative that the focus remain on those technologies and industries which have a high employment potential and offer scope for significant value addition. Endeavours to improve society will gather greater support when they are perceived to be dedicated to social justice and welfare of all.

The College of Leather Technology has made an immense contribution to the development of an important labour intensive industry. I have no doubt that it will continue to serve that industry well in the years ahead as we face up to the challenge of global competition.

III

Health and Social Welfare

Welfare of Mother and Child Central to Integrated Health Care Strategy

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be present on the occasion of the launching of the Child Survival and Safe Motherhood Programme by the Central Government. I thank the Union Health Minister, Shri M.L. Fotedar for his thoughtful invitation and for associating me with this important initiative.

The Central Government's effort in integrating a wide range of schemes under this programme represents a noteworthy approach: I should like to compliment all those who have contributed towards organising a coordinated endeavour to reach essential health services to women and children in our country.

More than ever, there is a need today for a sense of mission imbuing all the agencies and organisations, official and non-official, social and voluntary, who work in this field. Dedication, sensitivity and professional acumen are essential for the success of the programme. Equally we need to keep in mind our dependence on the women of India for the well-being of the nation and for building a better future for our children. Ours is still, primarily, an agro-based economy, and in the context of the effort to restructure, vitalise, and enlarge, the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the Indian economy, the position of women is of central importance. India's agriculture depends on India's women, to a much more significant degree than is normally understood. The women of India must be enabled to contribute to their fullest potential towards crucial tasks in national development and reconstruction.

The range of health services that are made available with a view to ensuring proper health care and cover for women have their own importance. But for these programmes to succeed, a holistic approach towards health is crucial. Attitudes towards women: at the personal, family, and social levels, have to be

Opening the Child Survival and Safe Motherhood Programme, New Delhi, 20 August 1992

positive, and care needs to be taken to build an atmosphere conducive to an all round improvement in the status of women: commensurate with their position as human beings, and their importance in every field of growth and development. Today, as a result of migration, desertion, death or disability, a large number of families, particularly in the rural areas, are headed by women. These female-dependent families need special care in terms of extending to them the social, economic and psychological support essential to them. The advantages of literacy, the scope for employment and the accessibility to credit, availability of agricultural inputs, finance and other infrastructural support—all these are of critical importance to the women of our country.

The whole approach towards women should be seen in a larger perspective, to be sensitive to the total ramifications of the importance of women in our society, not just as subordinate adjuncts in domestic or economic activity.

If we are able to build the desired positive atmosphere and attitudes in regard to women of our country, we will then be able to more efficiently promote measures for better child care and to make a definite impact on child mortality.

I reiterate therefore that it is necessary to integrate the social and psychological approaches with the approach for the integrated programme of reaching health care and services to our women and children.

I am very happy that this scheme is being launched on the birth anniversary of an outstanding world leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He had a vision of a strong and healthy nation and of the approaches of critical importance towards this goal. He had said: "We must develop an integrated system of health care which will bring in the best from all the systems so that we may give the best to our people." He had also stressed the use of different systems of health care that we have in India in addition to the allopathic system and had highlighted the fact that there are certain diseases where answers are not available to allopathy but other systems, such as the Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha and Tibbi, do provide answers.

The World Health Organisation's own definition of Health is in terms of "the state of complete physical, mental and social well being"—the definition akin to our own Indian view-point of total health. This is the goal that we have before us.

I have every confidence that all the doctors, para-medical staff, and indeed every individual having some responsibility in the proper functioning of this major programme would approach their duty in a spirit of service treating it as a labour of love. With such an approach, in an atmosphere of social awareness of the importance of the position of women and children, we would be able to achieve the programme objectives and targets identified in our National Health Policy.

May I again thank you for associating me with this important function. I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Child Survival and Safe Motherhood programme.

Holistic Approach to Medicine

I HAVE GREAT pleasure to be amongst you today for the inauguration of the Trichur Heart Hospital, a multi-disciplinary and super-speciality hospital, with emphasis on Cardiology and Cardio-Vascular Surgery and Traumatology. It is a matter of deep satisfaction, that this institution is charged with the laudable objective of offering specialised services and providing medical coverage.

In the existing range of therapeutic care, the facility of cardiovascular surgery, including by-pass surgery, with its highly sophisticated diagnostic equipment, is undoubtedly, a very valuable breakthrough. It is but natural that with the increasing success in the field of medical researches and science, the confidence and expectations of the people with regard to the miracles of medicine, have risen. In fact, health care is a basic necessity of life—as basic as food, clothing and shelter. As the progress of our country depends on its greatest resource—the people, it is imperative that the medical profession must address itself towards the enrichment of the quality of human life.

In order to achieve this objective, I call upon the medical institutions, to make sustained efforts in the direction of rendering medical services of high and reputable standards in diagnostic as well as in therapeutic care.

I fully appreciate the objectives of this multi-speciality hospital, towards a holistic approach for excellence in medical care. It is necessary that increasing attention is devoted to the vast problem of delivering health care to the weaker sections of our society. With regard to the availability of valuable and advanced techniques of medicine, we must constantly keep in mind the two related factors of accessibility and affordability, so as to ensure maximum extension of such facilities to the greatest number of beneficiaries.

I am happy that the Trichur Heart Hospital has decided to reserve 10 per cent of the beds free of cost at concessional rates, to the economically weaker sections. It is heartening to note that the project also envisages the establishment of a school of nursing and post-graduate training facilities in different fields of medicine.

It is important that the human element, in the field of medical treatment is always kept in view. This has been a central element in India's tradition of medical care.

We are all aware that the ancient medical systems of Ayurveda or "the knowledge of life", Siddha, Unani, and Tibbi have a very distinguished millennial tradition. We can be truly proud of the combination of intuition, observation and empiricism, of which Charaka and Susruta were masters. This approach was almost echoed by Einstein who once said, "There is no logical way to the discovery of these elementary laws. This is only the way of intuition, which is helped by a feeling for the order lying behind the appearance".

In fact, the traditional *Vaidya* did not perfunctorily prescribe medicine. He studied the patient with great care, diagnosed the ailment and thereafter prescribed and dispensed the medicine. The emphasis was, therefore, not merely on relieving the symptoms but on attacking the root cause of the disease.

That is to say, that "The ideal relationship of doctor, patient, nurse and medicine, are the four feet upon which a cure must rest." Most remarkable was the emphasis on the principles according to which the physical encasement of the human intellect and soul must be preserved, as set out in the *Atharva Veda*.

In his *Samhita*, Charaka has elaborated as follows :

उपचारज्ञता दाक्ष्यमनुरागश्च भर्त्तरि ।

शौचं चेति चतुष्कोऽयं गुणः परिचरे जने ॥

In other words: "Knowledge of the manner in which drugs are to be prepared or compounded for administration, cleverness, devotedness to the patient waited upon, and purity both of mind and body, are the four qualifications of the attending nurse".

The ancient system of medicine was thus based on the concept of not mere freedom from disease, but more positively on the active state of well being or *Arogyam*. Therefore, life itself becomes a synergistic whole of the mental, the physical and the spiritual.

I would, therefore, like to take this opportunity of calling upon the medical profession, to address themselves to the problems and tensions generated by the accelerated pace of life, in its totality. By working towards the evolution of the right mental ethos, helping in the development of equanimity of temperament and extending their studies far beyond the confines of physical health, into the realms of psychological and psychosomatic disorders, cardio-vascular problems, could be considerably contained, reduced and even prevented.

Treatment should, therefore, be comprehensive enough to understand not only the physical manifestation of the disease but should necessarily extend into the recesses of the mind of the individual afflicted by the ailment.

I would like to conclude with the message from *Charaka Samhita* :

यस्य त्वेते गुणाः सर्वे सन्ति विपादयः शुभाः ।

स वैद्यशब्दं सद्भूतमईन् प्राणिसुखप्रदः ॥

meaning thereby:

"Not for self,
Not for the fulfilment of any earthly desire of gain,
But solely for the good of suffering humanity,
Should you treat your patients and so excel all.

With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Hospital and dedicating it to the service of the people.

Alleviating Human Suffering

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be amongst you at this function for the inauguration of the Surgical Block of the Lisie Hospital.

His Eminence, the Archbishop of Ernakulam, Mar Antony Cardinal Padiyara, had extended a most thoughtful invitation to me to come here, and I should like to express my gratitude to him for enabling me to see this fine institution.

I have had occasion in the past to meet Cardinal Padiyara in Ernakulam as well as in Delhi when he graced my residence. Your Eminence, if I may say so, I have always been deeply touched by your great learning, profound understanding of the purpose and true path of life, your piouness and saintly presence. I, therefore, greatly looked forward to visiting Ernakulam to associate myself with an institution so dear to Cardinal Padiyara and to acquaint myself with the important work undertaken by the Lisie Hospital, which has grown with the blessings of three Archbishops : Cardinal Joseph Paricathil, his predecessor, Mar Augustine Kandathil, and now Cardinal Padiyara. I am delighted to learn of the facilities developed here and the dedication and expertise with which service is being rendered to the suffering and the weak.

I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude in respect of all who have helped develop the Lisie Hospital to its present capability as a general as well as a multi-speciality hospital serving the needs of all people, particularly, the poor. There is great appreciation amongst the people about the service rendered by this hospital, and now, with the facilities being augmented by the new Surgical Block, equipped with high quality equipment and medical expertise, and a spirit of dedication, the scope and nature of medical care available would reach relief to greater and greater numbers of patients.

Very appropriately, this hospital bears the name Lisie—after St. Teresa of Lisieux. St. Teresa represented the light of Christian teaching, values and thought. Marie Françoise Teresa Martin had tried, as early as in her ninth year to enter the Carmelite Convent at Lisieux and had personally implored Pope Leo XIII to intercede

on her behalf. She was permitted to enter the Convent at the age of sixteen and, in the eight years that remained in her life, she advanced constantly and rapidly in the path of spirituality. 'The Little Flower', she was called, and she would speak of the 'The Little Way' : of performing even the small duties of every day life with perfection, exemplary in purity, devotion, faith and compassion. She said, "From God, who is mighty and compassionate, one can never ask too much. One will obtain from Him exactly in proportion to one's reliance on Him". "What wounds Jesus, what wounds Him to the Heart, is want of confidence". At the age of 24, even as she lay dying, St. Teresa had said: "My mission is about to commence, my mission of making others love the good God—of giving my Little Way—the Way of Spiritual Childhood—it is the path of confidence and total dedication to the Heavenly father."

This approach, the path of absolute devotion and faith, has a profound bearing on integrating the scientific and technical aspects of diagnosis, medication, surgical treatment, and therapy, with the psychological and spiritual needs of patients, with a view to achieving the concept of total health—a concept that true health is much more than just the removal of infection or disease. True health denotes a level of perfection in the fitness of the physical body, attended by a state of peace and well-being, or purposefulness, resolution and of advancement at the intellectual and spiritual planes.

Smt. Indira Gandhi, who had laid the foundation stone of this Surgical Block in January 1982, used to speak of this concept of total health, and her vision was of striving towards 'Health for All'. The World Health Organization thereafter adopted the goal of "Health for all by 2000 A.D."

This is an enormous, complex, and exacting task. Government and official agencies have a key role to perform in this context, and Health has been a key priority area in all our Five-Year-Plans, Annual Plans and special schemes. The social and voluntary sector has its own contribution to make. In many respects, the infrastructure developed and expertise and dedication displayed in the social and voluntary sector in our country, equal, and even excel, standards attained anywhere else in the world.

I believe institutions doing good work, recognised as such by the people should be supported, strengthened and given greater scope for performance. The exemplary service rendered by the

Lisie Hospital represents, beautifully, the invaluable contributions made by Christian institutions towards national reconstruction.

In keeping with what is termed the 'spirit of improvement', of bringing about a qualitative and quantitative enhancement in the status of whatever one is associated with, it is important to be cognizant of real needs. There is much truth in the statement : "Patients pray, doctors treat, God heals". Doctors and medical institutions—however well-equipped and oriented, have a specific role with its own parameters.

व्याधेस्तत्त्व परिज्ञानं वेदनायाश्च निग्रहः ।

एतवैद्यस्य वैद्यत्वं न वैद्यः प्रभुरायुषः ॥

It has been said that the task and duty of the physician is to accumulate knowledge and understanding of disease, the causal factors of ill-health and pain, and the materials and methods to reduce and eliminate physical ailments such as these may be. While these be the tasks of the physician, he can hardly bestow a longer life span by any other means. That falls in another's jurisdiction.

It is here that the role of the patient becomes important in the matter of his own or her own recovery. Faith and resolution, determination and a strong power of will, are vital needs.

The *Bhagavad Gita* says:

सत्त्वानुरूपा सर्वस्य श्रद्धा भवति भारत ।

श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषो यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः ॥

Ch. 17, Verse 3

"The faith in every person, 'O' Bharata, and his natural disposition are in accordance with one another. Man is of the nature of his faith : what his faith is, that he is".

St. Paul the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans had expressed this thought in another way :

"And being not weak in faith,
he considered not his own body
now dead, when he was about a
hundred years old, neither yet
the deadness of Sarah's womb."

(Roman IV 19)

Many are the instances known to me of people who succeeded in surmounting grave illnesses, when they received good medical treatment—its efficacy enhanced by their own resolve to be well again.

The Lisie Hospital complex, strengthened now by this superbly equipped Surgical Block, provides the right environment for regaining health.

Under the patronage of His Eminence, Mar Antony Cardinal Padiyara, I am sure the Lisie Hospital Surgical Block will render service to Ernakulam and Cochin and the different districts of Kerala and to people from afar in the hinterland of our country. It would continue to set an excellent standard of medical cover as could be emulated by hospitals elsewhere in the country and, indeed, in other countries too.

India has a tremendous heritage of knowledge and expertise in medicine, treatment and cure. We have diverse schools of medicine, and the accumulated experience and insights of generation after generation of doctors and physicians and thinkers in medical science comprise an asset and an advantage of far-reaching value to the life of the masses. After Independence, there has been very appreciable effort in building medical infrastructure in the governmental, social and voluntary sectors. We have to devise measures fully to utilize the installed potential of our medical institutions, and establish efficient linkages in rural and semi-rural areas, with the expertise, equipment and services available in our hospitals. The youth and educational institution can make a valuable contribution in this context. Initiatives for undertaking population studies to understand the 'health profile' of areas selected for sample survey, prioritised investment in Research and Development to upgrade and diversify treatment regimens, documentation and medical data-bank development, utilization of the prescriptions and procedures of traditional schools of medicine, after due laboratory verification and establishment of usefulness, stress on cleanliness, prompt and personal attention to patient needs,—all these are areas in which the hospitals and medical establishments in our country can make significant improvements. The effort can be led by the example set by institutions as well-loved as The Lisie Hospital.

I am sure that in the years and decades ahead, this medical complex which is already renowned in Kerala, would be in the

forefront of the growth, diversification and enhancement of the medical sector in India and continue making a very significant contribution towards the goal of 'Health for All', setting an example of Service, Love and Devotion along the path shown by the Little Flower, St. Teresa of Lissieux.

May I thank you, once again, Cardinal Padiyara for your kind invitation.

Take Health Care to the Masses

IT GIVES ME great happiness to be with you this morning to present the Dr. B.C. Roy National Awards instituted in 1969 to commemorate the memory of a great son of India, an outstanding medical specialist and an illustrious freedom-fighter who directed his energies with single-minded devotion, over many years, to the service of the Motherland.

On this occasion, I extend my warm felicitations to all the recipients of the National Awards who have achieved distinction in their chosen field by working with a sense of mission for the well-being of humankind. Prof. P.N. Tandon in the realm of neuro-surgery, Prof. J.S. Bajaj in the treatment of diabetes, dedicated teachers and researchers in medicine, as also those engaged in socio-medical relief who are being honoured today have each attained levels of excellence worthy of emulation. The recognition of their contributions through Awards associated with so eminent a personality as Dr. B.C. Roy is, therefore, fitting and appropriate.

I thank the Medical Council of India—whose establishment in the thirties, it may be recalled, marked the fruition of Dr. Roy's sustained efforts in this direction—and the other organizers for their thoughtful invitation to me.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy came of a generation of nationalists who were in the vanguard of our struggle for independence and

had immersed themselves in the freedom movement. He was inspired by the towering leadership of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and irresistibly drawn to Bapu's doctrine of truth and non-violence and its application to one's own self. In 1924, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das created a Trust bequeathing all his private properties for the welfare of the women of the country and selected Bidhanbabu as one of its members without even asking his consent. So much was the trust the Deshbandhu reposed in Dr. Roy. "Why he should have taken me as a Trustee for managing his personal estate which he had given to the country, I do not know," confessed Bidhanbabu, "but as the charge was given to me, I accepted the assignment". His self-effacing attitude to men and matters is also reflected in an observation made several years later:

"Whatever the work that has been my share to do, I have always tried to do it with the best of my ability. I derive great satisfaction from this"

Dr. Roy's life was full of activity in different spheres in each of which he played a productive role. Stoically overcoming the adversities of his early years, he travelled to Britain and secured the degrees of MRCP and FRCS in the same year, thereby establishing a record. His eminence in the medical world was recognized in India and outside. Even as the Chief Minister of West Bengal, he found time every day to examine patients free of charge. An evergrowing number of patients flocked to his Wellington Street residence every morning to obtain his expert diagnosis and prescription for their ailments. To cope with the work, he even engaged a doctor and a nurse to prepare, in advance, the particulars of the patients who sought his assistance.

Equally was he known for his unfailing support to worthy causes and his concern for the common man. Many institutions, including the Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital and the Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital benefited from his munificence and personal interest in their development. He donated his own house to a Trust for providing medical relief to the poor and the suffering.

Dr. Roy was closely associated with the Medical Missions sent out from India in the aftermath of World War II to countries in the Far East. He played a crucial role in the Malaya Mission. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who returned back from Malaya in December, 1945 was much distressed by the health conditions there. He asked Dr. Roy to try to arrange a Medical Mission to be sent to that

country. Panditji issued an appeal for help and Dr. Roy was entrusted with the entire work of organizing the Mission such as purchase of stores, selection of personnel and arrangements for transport. It was a herculean task which Dr. Roy accomplished with his characteristic enthusiasm and thoroughness. The Malaya Medical Mission was a great success and helped considerably to afford succour to the suffering people in that area.

Honours came to him in abundance. As Bapu's trusted associate and follower, as Vice-Chancellor, Mayor and Chief Minister, he gave his best in the many onerous responsibilities entrusted to him. His formidable intelligence, depth of knowledge and attention to detail all contributed to his extraordinary capacity to have a clear conception of the problems confronting him as the administrative head of a State. He once said :

"My experience as Chief Minister of West Bengal during a very trying period has convinced me that to run a successful administration certain definite approaches to human activities have to be secured To run an administration one must possess a stout heart ... a preparedness to sacrifice one's ambition ... for the sake of the common weal ... a readiness to take some risks for the sake of the ideal, after carefully considering all its implications"

During his stewardship of the State between 1948-62, Dr. Roy accorded priority to accelerating the pace of socio-economic development and improving the management of public finances. It became amply evident, within a few years that conditions were quite different from what they had been at the time of Independence. Impetus was given to the programme of Community Development Projects and National Extension Service. Even before the advent of freedom, he had developed the idea of a school for jute technology in Calcutta. The scheme for setting up of a Coke Oven Plant at Durgapur also originated in his mind. During his Chief Ministership, expansion in the sphere of Medical and Public Health Services was similarly impressive.

Friends, it is as a result of the untiring efforts of stalwarts of the Independence movement of the calibre and commitment of Dr. B.C. Roy that we may now take some pride in having more than 4 lakh registered doctors and a large number of medical colleges in our country which constitute the essential infrastructure for ensuring the well-being of our citizens and the healthy growth and development of the younger generation.

Much, of course, remains to be done. The National Health Policy aims at the goal of "Health for All" by the year 2000 AD and we have, therefore, to work to a definite time-frame for effecting a quantum-jump in terms of providing easy and inexpensive access to medical and family welfare facilities in rural and urban areas alike. We need many more doctors living and working in our villages and the purposive involvement of the entire medical community in the family welfare and allied programmes in order to move nearer to realizing Bapu's vision of a progressive and prosperous India, free of want, deprivation and disease.

In the successful completion of these tasks of national importance, the shining example of Dr. B.C. Roy—his total commitment to public service, his gentle and humane personality, his remarkable skills in the science of medicine—will, no doubt, continue to inspire the youth as also the large medical fraternity in our country in the years of challenge and opportunity that lie ahead. I am reminded here of Dr. Radhakrishnan's touching tribute to Bidhanbabu at his passing away in July, 1962:

"We will miss his stately presence, his healing touch, his cheering voice, but he has left behind an example of dedicated service to which he brought his very great gifts."

Bidhanbabu placed before the nation, especially those connected with the medical profession, a high ideal of selfless adherence to the moral and ethical values which have for centuries been an integral part of the tradition and culture of our ancient country. I have faith and hope that each member of this noble calling—drawing inspiration from his unique example—will strive to promote the great cause of alleviating human suffering.

I once again thank you for associating me with the important function. I wish the Award winners every success in their professional work and Godspeed in their endeavours to build a healthy and vibrant future for their countrymen.

Love All Serve All

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you today on the occasion of the inauguration of the Second International Symposium on Cardiovascular Diseases.

I thank the Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Medical Sciences for associating me with this function.

Ever since its inception, this institute has been rendering invaluable service by way of free treatment to thousands of the poor, suffering and the down-trodden without distinction of caste, creed or color. Such deep and abiding humanitarian concern testifies to the expression of revered Sri Sathya Sai Baba's philosophy : "Love all Serve all". The support and public involvement inspired by his uniquely pervasive guidance have created an extraordinary centre of service to humanity which is a model worthy of emulation in our country.

Some three decades ago, we in India often spoke of heart disease as an ailment that was irreversible and usually fatal. Around the sixties, we had begun to believe that such an affliction had good chances of being treated with expert medical advice and a degree of success only if one was prepared to spend money abroad. In the eighties and nineties, we have witnessed a dramatic transformation in so far as cardiac interventions and cardiac treatments are concerned. By-pass surgery has helped clear blocked arteries, salvaging thousands of patients from the propensity for heart attack. This great advance in medical science has been accepted as a challenge for bringing relief to those affected by heart disease. Several major hospitals in our country are now achieving a high rate of success comparable with the best cardiac centres in the world. But many of these centres of advanced medical care have been established largely in the urban areas. In a country like ours where the large majority of the people live in the rural areas, the Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Medical Sciences stands out as a means to reach aid and succour to that India which lives in her villages.

We feel proud of our cardiologists, cardiac-thoracic surgeons and the skilled man-power that has contributed to making a

International Symposium on cardio-vascular diseases, Puttaparthi, 21 January 1994

breakthrough in treating cardio vascular diseases. The diagnostic tests, the appointments with doctors, securing admission into the hospital, procuring consumables and paying for the services are facilities which need to be brought within the reach of the common man. The Sri Sathya Sai Baba Institute of Higher Medical Sciences has come to the assistance of those who need it most.

Friends, you would today take stock of the latest developments in the field of cardiac speciality. Occasions such as these make dedicated Specialists come together, share their varied experience, discuss issues at length and reach conclusions for undertaking futuristic plans and studies. May I take this opportunity to mention that the well-being of the human heart is very much within man's power. While all the organs and systems in the human body are important, the heart has, since very early times, been given special importance in the maintenance of life processes. Charaka, the father of *Ayurveda*, had said :

प्रतिष्ठार्थं हि भावानामेषां हृदयमिष्यते ।

गोपानसीनामागारकणिकेवार्थचिंतकेः ।।

तस्योपघातान्मूर्च्छायं भेदान्मरणमृच्छति ।

“The heart specialists regard the heart as the substratum for the various entities in the body, like the central girder of the beams in a house. One gets *murchha* (fainting) on its injury and death on its severe painful conditions.”

As you know, there are many types of diseases of the heart and cardio-vascular system which, unfortunately, also strike at those who are in their most productive years. Treatment through ballooning procedures and laser or by-pass surgery is a palliative treatment. The countries which have gained a measure of control over such ailments have done so as much by means of new drugs and advanced surgery as by the practice of preventive measures on a growing scale. In our own age-old traditions, *Ayurveda* accords preference to preventive measures which offer a more enduring remedy to diseases of the mind and the body alike.

The various preventive aspects of heart care pertain to diet, physical exercise and mental tranquillity. Our ancient texts of medicine had prescribed guidelines for a wholesome and physically active life. Modern medical research informs us the dietary items rich in vegetables fibre, fruits, fresh vegetables and reduced intake of salt and fats prevent heart disease and problems of blood pressure. Our ancient texts of medicine which, centuries ago,

prescribed guidelines for a wholesome and physically active life.

If a disturbed mind can cause damage to the heart, a tranquil mind would play a significant role in sustaining it in healthy condition. I would like to urge this gathering of eminent professionals to take note of the fact that in a fast-developing country like ours, one can hardly over-estimate the critical importance of providing basic health amenities, clean drinking water, nutritive food and over-head shelters. We need progressively to move away from an attitude of reach-and-cure to an approach based on anticipation and prevention. The government and other agencies engaged in the public health and medical sector can play a pivotal role in this direction and in promoting health consciousness as an element affecting the quality of life of the country as a whole.

A visit to this abode of peace at Puttaparthi is an inspiration to re-dedicate ourselves to helping the cause of service to human-kind and alleviating human suffering. The progress which the Institute has made in the last two years bears eloquent testimony to the spirit of selfless dedication which has guided its rapid growth and development.

I wish the Conference every success and hope that your deliberations will be of benefit towards the curative and preventive care of cardiac patients. May the Blessings of revered Sri Sathya Sai Baba be with us always in the service of our country and our people.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Conference.

Eradicate Leprosy

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you to present the International Gandhi Awards 1994 on this important day.

Martyr's Day has always been an occasion for introspection. On this day, as we pay homage to the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, we also reaffirm our faith in the message and gospel which Bapu spread during his glorious life. Forty-six years ago, Jawaharlal Nehru, while declaring that 'the light has gone

Presenting the International Gandhi Awards, New Delhi, 30 January 1994

out of our lives' had exhorted us—"The greatest prayer that we can offer is to take a pledge to dedicate ourselves to Truth, and to the cause for which this great countryman of ours lived ...". It is only appropriate that today we should dedicate ourselves to one of the causes with which Gandhiji was so closely associated.

Gandhiji has a unique place in our history by virtue of the moral and ethical strength that he gave to our struggle for freedom and independence. His mission was to re-structure society on the basis of truth, non-violence and love. This is recognized the world over. This approach must prevail as a matter of faith for every Indian.

Even when striving for a free and independent India, Bapu was acutely conscious of the need for the reform of Indian society. He wanted us honestly to recognize the flaws and weaknesses in ourselves, and to labour to cure our ills with insight, courage and perseverance. He saw self-analysis as an act of truth, creative of strength and progress. With his extraordinary intuition and a remarkable bond with the people of our country, he perceived the stagnation of society that had led to the establishment and perpetuation of foreign rule. He identified the social ills and prejudices that weakened India and he brought these issues to the forefront of our national agenda for political and social reformation. It is an indication of the greatness of Gandhiji's vision that he pursued the cause of social reform as an integral, indeed a fundamental basis for the quest for national freedom, Independence and reconstruction.

Among the prejudices deeply entrenched in our society in the first half of this century was the fear of leprosy. Leprosy was regarded with such a degree of dread that those afflicted were ostracised completely. The doors of society were firmly shut to the very people who needed urgent assistance and loving care. Ignorance is a fertile breeding ground for fear. And such was the stigma and superstition attached to leprosy that a person suffering from the disease would be shunned even by his own family. The life of a leprosy patient was verily worse than death itself.

In this arena of darkness, as indeed in others, Gandhiji's approach was like an unwavering beacon of light. He had said: "In this land of faith and superstitions, both flourish abundantly. Hence, they often intermingle and the contamination of superstitions—a multitude—seems to have overlaid faith, so much that it is hard to distinguish between the two. But my faith, which

burns too bright for the army of superstitions to touch it, tells me that leprosy is no contamination". Bapu led by personal example. His tending on Parchure Shastri symbolised the approach he sought to inspire amongst our people in regard to patients of leprosy, and the many vexatious ills that have to be cured to build a healthy public mind.

The decades which have followed the life of Gandhiji have seen significant advancements with respect to control of leprosy. This is due in no small measure to the sense of awareness on this subject which he bequeathed to us. The effectiveness of Multi Drug Therapy has brought down leprosy cases to a quarter of their number a decade ago. The National Leprosy Eradication Programme must reflect the sense of purpose and service with which we seek to liberate our society from the clutches of the disease. Governmental programmes have been augmented by the tireless efforts of numerous voluntary organisations. The dream of Gandhiji to eliminate leprosy completely in India—is within reach by the end of the century.

The Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation has served to give practical shape to Bapu's message of hope and dignity for patients of leprosy. Since 1951, the foundation has conducted experiments, studies and projects aimed at finding solutions to different facets of the problem of leprosy. They have associated themselves with the Government's efforts at various levels and have mobilised allied professions to jointly pool their efforts in this regard. The Foundation has been a pioneer not only of research and field work in leprosy eradication but has also contributed to creating public awareness by stressing health education. Early detection of the disease is possible only when it moves out of the darkness of social stigma into the light of modern medicine.

The International Gandhi Awards represent an acknowledgement by us of the contribution of those who have dedicated their lives to the cause of the struggle against leprosy. The Award is a modest recognition. The true reward is the inner satisfaction arising from a life of noble purpose.

Dr. Joon Lew and Dr. V. Ekambaram have made invaluable contributions to the evolution of anti-leprosy programmes in their respective countries. Dr. Lew has been the Director of the World Vision Special Skin Clinic and Leprosy Research Institute from 1959 to 1985. He was also the Honorary President of the Korean Society of Leprologists. Dr. Ekambaram has been working on

leprosy since 1951 in different capacities. He has been the Chairman of the Government's Leprosy Control Committee and the President of the Indian Association of Leprologists.

It gives me great happiness to present the International Gandhi Awards to Dr. Lew and Dr. Ekambaram. Truly, as Gandhiji said, "leprosy work is God's work". In presenting these Awards, I know I express not only the tribute of a grateful society but the feelings of millions who, as a result of your work and dedication, have been given a new life.

Friends, I should also like to draw attention, on this occasion, to our own duty, within the perspective of Bapu's vision, to build a humane, just and equitable society in India. Let us remember his work and his words towards curing the greater ills of society. He spoke to us in plain, direct language conveying a message both simple and true. "Real leprosy", Bapu had taught us, "is attached to an unclean mind. To look down upon fellow human beings, to condemn any community or class of men, is a sign of a diseased mind far worse than physical leprosy". Forthrightly, he said, "Such men are the real lepers of society".

On this solemn day, as we recall the sacrifice of our martyrs and freedom fighters, and pay homage to the memory of the Father of our Nation, let us also commit ourselves to working for the removal of the prejudices and biases that plague and weaken society in India. Let us resolutely fight the canker and disease of casteism and communalism. Let us strive to build a sense of equality, oneness and unity. That must be our effort and purpose as individuals and citizens in the service of a new India, a better world.

Fight Infant Mortality

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the 8th Asian Congress of Pediatrics. I extend my warm greetings to the 2200 delegates assembled here today from 38 countries. Although from different societies, each with its unique history, culture, traditions,

and level of development, you all share a strong common bond : your dedication to the welfare of children.

The protection of one's young is the most basic instinct of any living being. Pandit Nehru, whose own love for children was so manifest, rightly noted that parents "seem to live their lives again in their children". Ensuring the security of the repositories of our hopes and aspirations has been the basis for creating human society, for living collectively. Yet there was a time when the ravages of nature struck down our young with abandon. Our very helplessness made us rationalise these processes and sometimes even accept them under the soothing blanket of tradition. Our inability to cope with tragedies reflected itself in superstitions and in fatalism. The gradual progress of science, however, increasingly gave protection to the unprotected of our species. As new vistas opened up, mankind could deal with the vicissitudes of nature with growing confidence. But each challenge which we have surmounted has only made us more aware of what remains to be done. Whatever be our achievements so far, let us recognize that large numbers of children are still victim to disease, malnutrition and early mortality.

The World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children gives us a graphic description of the problems faced by them. It spoke of countless children around the world exposed to dangers that hamper their growth and development. Children are the casualties of war and violence. They are victims of cruelty and exploitation. They suffer from hunger and homelessness, from epidemics and illiteracy. The Declaration's reminder that 40,000 children die each day around the world brings home the enormity of the challenge before us.

Independent India, emerging from two centuries of colonialism, was an object of particular concern with regard to the predicament of its children. The infant mortality rate four decades ago was 200 per thousand and life expectancy limited to 40. The leadership of Mahatma Gandhi had already stirred the conscience of the nation about the plight of the down-trodden and the oppressed, children among them. Growing public consciousness and the compulsions of democracy produced their own momentum for change. It was accepted that democracy, as President Radhakrishnan put it, "means that the weakest in the land should be provided with opportunities for self development". The most defenceless of the weak were children and it was but appropriate

that the Constitution of free India should reflect the nation's concern about their state. The Directive Principles of State Policy affirmed our commitment to ensure that the tender age of children is not abused, that they are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner, that they can aspire to freedom and dignity and be protected against exploitation and abandonment. This remains our ideal, our goal, our standard for judging ourselves.

The years that have passed have seen a substantial improvement in health parameters in this country. Infant mortality rate has now come down to 79. Under five mortality is now around 26 per thousand. Life expectancy has crossed 60. Programmes dedicated to public health and welfare have contributed to the improvement of the health status of both women and children. Cost-effective interventions have been the focus of these efforts. The Child Survival and Safe Motherhood programme represents our determination to address the major causes of illness and deaths. The universal immunisation programme launched in 1985 covers almost 80 per cent of pregnant women and young children today. We all look forward to the day when its coverage is total. Progress in eliminating neonatal tetanus and poliomyelitis has also been encouraging. The access resulting from the immunisation programme has also provided an opportunity to extend other services relating to maternal and child care. The out reach of health facilities to remote corners of this country is noteworthy.

The very progress we have made has provided a stimulus for greater efforts. We have seen what is achievable and must ensure that the fruits of medicine and science are equally distributed. In India itself, regional variations in the health sector are significant. Orissa, for example, has an infant mortality rate of 114 while it is only 17 in Kerala. Differences across the globe are even sharper. Countries like Japan, USA, Australia and Sweden have one tenth the infant mortality rate of developing countries. As with development as a whole such inequalities in health do not augur well for the stability of the international order. In an era of rising expectations, we would do well to recall Panditji's warning that "the common mass of humanity does not agree to bear the cost of progress at the cost of its own starvation". Let us therefore recognize the problems which children in different parts of the globe still face and resolve to work together to address them.

The infant mortality rate, even though reduced considerably, is still at an unacceptable level. Neonatal mortality has shown little sign of decline. Diarrhoeal diseases, respiratory diseases, vaccine preventable diseases and lack of maternal and new born care remain the major causes of mortality in our countries. Malnutrition continues to be a serious problem and contributes directly or indirectly to 60 per cent of child deaths in India. Anaemia is still widespread in many women and children. Iodine deficiency is spreading despite the affordability of remedial technologies. Vitamin 'A' deficiency remains a major cause of blindness.

Lack of knowledge is our greatest foe when it comes to public health. If children are neglected, it is because custom, traditions, ignorance and want have overcome the maternal instinct. It is an accepted fact that a child's health and nutrition is much better when the mother is literate. Reduced births are also critical to the reduction of child deaths. Studies have identified that the 90 districts in this country with high birth rate have the common characteristics of low female literacy, low age at marriage and high infant mortality. It is evident, therefore, that the welfare of children and their protection from their very conception cannot be dealt with from a narrow perspective. Repeated and untimely pregnancies, short inter-pregnancy intervals, early marriage, low birth weight, and pre-term birth are all part of a syndrome which we have to fight. The battles for safe motherhood and for the survival of the child are but two sides of the same coin.

The challenges of reproduction and mortality which we face in India are not uncommon in this continent, or indeed in others. At the beginning of this decade Bangladesh had an infant mortality rate of 105, Brazil 57, Egypt 66, Mexico 39 and Pakistan 103. Our foes are common and so too must be our battle. Success in one corner of globe may well determine events in another. You, the real guardians of our children, are all in the vanguard of a continuous and never ending struggle. In your successes and failures truly lies the course of human history. The burden you bear is undoubtedly heavy. But it can be lightened by cooperative efforts and mutual endeavours, by common solutions and by timely assistance.

A country where a quarter of the 12 million girls born every year die before their 15th birthday cannot be complacent. A nation which has almost 30 million 'street children' living below the

poverty line, and working 12 hours a day, cannot cease even for a moment in looking for solutions. Poverty, illiteracy and parental neglect when fused together are a threat as serious as any which mankind has faced. These are not our problems alone and it is only through global cooperation we can urgently deal with a situation whose daily cost is measured in the lost lives of children. Four decades ago, Pandit Nehru referred to 'the change coming over the scene now and Asia again finding itself'. Our true finding would be only when our children are secure.

Children—Our Nation's Future

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you to give away the National Awards for Child Welfare for 1993. This is an occasion I am particularly pleased to be associated with and I extend my felicitations to the recipients of these prestigious awards. We honour today their tireless and dedicated efforts to give our children a better future.

Children are the greatest gift humankind has bestowed on itself. In them, we all live our lives again. They embody the joys of life, and the innocence lost in the struggle of daily life may be regained in their company. Children signify the eternal optimism in the human being, and always bring to mind the potential for human development. The Tamil classic *Thirukural* has aptly noted that "If children are better equipped with a broader and more human outlook, the whole world will feel happy with them". In any endeavour or undertaking, children have special place. This is especially so in the task of nation-building.

The Plan of Action agreed to at the 1990 World Summit for Children outlines in essence the task ahead of us in this respect: "Empowerment of the younger generation with knowledge and resources to meet their basic human needs and to grow to their full potential should be a primary goal of national development. As

their individual development and social contribution will shape the future of the world, investment in children's health, nutrition and education is the foundation for national development."

That national development depended to a very large measure on child and youth welfare was recognized by the leaders of our freedom struggle. Bapuji had written extensively on the subject of child care, education and upbringing in *Young India*, *Harijan*, in *My Experiments with Truth* and *Guide to Health*. Characteristically his was a philosophy of self help, embodied in his exhortation that "there is no School equal to a decent home and no teachers equal to honest virtuous parents". In the Gandhian spirit, all children are ours and so too must we be collectively parents to all. To those children who had neither their own parents or home to fall back on, it is but natural that the state and society should undertake a greater responsibility for their welfare.

The founding fathers of our Constitution expressed their commitment to the well-being of our children in the Directive Principles of State Policy. In 1974 a National Policy on Children was adopted, recognizing our nation's children as a supremely important asset and formulating guidelines for planning and implementation of the programmes for welfare and development of children. India embraced all the essential goals set forth in the 1990 World Summit for Children including child development, nutrition, education, health, family welfare, planning and social welfare. The National Plan of Action for Children, accordingly sets out goals to be achieved by mid decade and 2000 AD. Our commitment to fostering the development of children is evident in the Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) Scheme, with its unique outreach and package of services ranging from supplementary nutrition, pre-school education and health check-up to referral services for children upto 6 years of age.

The developmental efforts represented by these and other related programmes have undeniably yielded significant results in the last four decades. Most indicators relevant to child development point in the positive direction. Between 1960 and 1992, infant mortality rate has come down from 144 to 83. Under five mortality rate is down from 236 to 124. Life expectancy has gone up from 44 to 60. The percentage of children with access to safe drinking water, sanitation, health services and immunisation has increased very significantly. Enrolment in primary school of both boys and girls has increased substantially. But that we are moving

in the right direction should induce not complacency and self congratulation but a greater determination to step up the pace. Let us remember that the time taken in the journey from conception to implementation of any programme is at the cost of the children of this nation.

The trials and tribulations for a child in India starts from its very birth. According to UNICEF, 33 per cent of the infants in India are born with low birthweight. 63 per cent remain underweight for their first four years leading to subsequent problems. The battle for the well-being of the child thus begins from its very conception. What we seek to combat are the results of repeated and untimely pregnancies, short inter-pregnancy intervals and early marriages. The linkage between mortality and fertility is undeniable. It is with this belief that the Child Survival and Safe Motherhood programme was launched in 1992. The natural ally for child welfare programmes are family planning and birth control efforts and they must pool their efforts to achieve their common objective.

Nutrition is an equally important focus of child development. The National Policy on Nutrition seeks to tackle malnutrition and micro-deficient problems in vulnerable groups. Of particular concern is the widespread anaemia among children, iodine deficiency and vitamin A deficiency. Malnutrition is certainly a product of poverty but this is reinforced by ignorance. The universalisation of elementary education is critical not only to providing knowledge and resources to our younger generation but to ensure their basic survival and health. Human resource development must today be approached with an integral vision, predicated on the assumption that population control, child welfare, health improvement and spread of literacy are but different facets of the fundamental task facing our nation.

In discussing the welfare of children, the question of the 'girl child' deserves special mention. We should take note of empirical data available on social and demographic characteristics of the girl child in India. Let us all fully understand that the nation will advance only when we succeed in ending the neglect, discrimination and oppression of girls in our society. Be it education or health, marriage or employment, much remains to be done to ensure they get a fair deal.

A very important aspect of ensuring the well-being of children is improving the status of women. The bond between a child and its mother is unique; one cannot exist without the other. Literate mothers are armed to breach those walls of ignorance which keep the child within its confines. They are more conscious of family planning, will realise the value of breast feeding, will be aware of the importance of adequate nutrition, and will insist on education, for girls and boys alike. The empowerment of women must therefore be a matter of utmost national priority.

Child labour and the growth of homeless children in urban areas are challenges which we must continue to tackle with great determination. These are symptoms of how the malaise of poverty can be aggravated if the developmental process is not socially sensitive. When it is reported that an estimated 44 million children labour for a living and 30 million live on the streets, these are statistics which certainly cause concern to all of us.

On the physical and mental development of our children is based the development of our society, of our nation. If we cannot make available the most basic results of progress to the most vulnerable amongst us, how may we speak of national development? Reducing mortality, combating malnutrition, providing safe water and sanitation, ensuring basic education—these are the real priorities of our national agenda. The enormity of these challenges demand concerted and collective efforts from individuals and organisations alike.

The importance of voluntary organisations to the cause of child welfare and development cannot be overstated. Through their sensitivity, they have given a lead to the community in the cognition of problems. Through their specialisation, they have played an invaluable role in the search for solutions. Their spirit of service, harnessed to the welfare of our children, seeks to awaken our collective conscience and move us to meet these critical challenges of our time. To quote Bapuji, "The field of service is unlimited. Our capacity for service can become unlimited ... If the gates of the heart are open, everything can get into it. Even a little service by such people bears immense fruit". In honouring those who have dedicated themselves to the welfare of our children, I am confident their example would be emulated by others to whom they serve as an inspiration.

Better Livelihood for the Disabled

I REGARD THIS as a very important function expressive of our nation's determination to ensure a position of dignity, full participation and creativity for every citizen, surmounting any disability.

In the decades since Independence, we have made significant strides in dealing with the problems of the disabled. If indeed there is a lesson learnt through experience, it is that old adage that prevention is better than cure. The emphasis today should be on prevention of disability, and extending the coverage of preventive health care, health education, and better understanding. Our rural areas specially must receive increasing benefits of such efforts.

One of the keys to prevention is the universal immunisation programme. As one looks at the years ahead, it is our progress in immunisation, which has reached a level of about 90 per cent for one year old children, which will save millions from disabilities. Many disabilities arise from deficiencies or stresses in the formative years of a child. Population control, with emphasis and post-natal care should, therefore remain the priority in our national health agenda. Greater awareness also needs to be generated about hazards that can cause disability. This is particularly relevant with respect to our children.

Advancements in modern medicine have contributed significantly to combating disabilities, and full advantage needs to be taken thereof. Multi-Drug Therapy, for example, has revolutionised the treatment of leprosy. Similarly, dealing effectively with Vitamin A deficiency, a major cause of blindness, is a realistic prospect today.

The education, rehabilitation and employment of handicapped individuals is a special need increasingly recognised in our country. We should have an integrated approach, beginning with special schools where children who require special attention do indeed receive it. It is critical to impart education such that gainful absorption of the handicapped into society, becomes easy. Provid-

ing employment to people with disabilities is a major component of their rehabilitation. Sometimes employers miss or disregard the true potential of the disabled. Motivating people to shed prejudice is not easy. Nevertheless, we must consider it our duty to persevere in spreading the message that the handicapped do indeed represent a vast untapped reservoir of talent whose increasing usage will benefit all. Let us strive to give people with disabilities full access to education, employment and livelihood, and strive to safeguard their rights, dignity and security. Only then can we claim that ours is a society based on justice, compassion and hope.

The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "The ability to give effective help resides in every human being who has the will and the necessary courage". Today, we express our admiration for those who re-built their lives, undaunted by disabilities, and others, who, empowered by the will and courage which Bapu spoke about, devoted themselves to the service of their fellowmen. May their shining example be emulated by many more in the months and years ahead.

Law—an Instrument for Social Change

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be amidst you for the inauguration of this Conference on "Shaping the Future by Law: Children, Environment and Human Health."

I extend my greetings and good wishes to all the participants who have gathered to deliberate these issues germane to the future of humankind. Distinguished delegates, you represent numerous professions, bring to bear knowledge derived from different experiences, and come from varied socio-economic milieu. Yet the problems you address are of common concern to all of us and I am confident that the interchange of ideas on these critical issues will be to the benefit of all.

International Conference on 'Shaping the Future by Law: Children, Environment and Human Health', New Delhi, 21 March 1994

It has been recognized from times immemorial that law is the basis of civil society. The earliest human literature, the *Rig Veda*, more than five thousand years old, refers to 'ancient ordinances', signifying the antiquity of law making. Each civilization has produced its own thinkers and philosophers who have debated how best to secure social good through law. Their common assumption is represented by the edict of Emperor Ashoka : "Where there is Law, there is Victory". In its essence, law is the codification of reason and represents the accumulated wisdom of the ages. It is shaped by society and, in turn, shapes society. Law must be responsive and stimulant to positive change, and in this way, law cannot be immutable but remains, as Stammler said : a 'variable constant'. Conceived and formulated thus, law can be a powerful instrument for social good and progress. Undoubtedly, there have been times when laws have also served to retard progress and deny justice. But even that extraordinary crusader against unjust laws, Mahatma Gandhi, recognized the importance of laws when he stated that, "Law alone can undo what law has done"

In India, our Constitution reflects our country's deep commitment towards the protection and well-being of children. Eminent jurists here, I am sure, are familiar with the forceful enunciations in our Constitution recognizing the Fundamental Rights of children, and the Directive Principles having a bearing on the task of protecting children as well as ensuring their growth.

Indeed, even during the struggle for India's freedom, in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi had moved the Fundamental Rights Resolution in the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress. The Resolution included a definitive prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories. It stressed the need for free primary education, and, cognisant of the importance of due care of the unborn child, it envisaged adequate provision for leave of women workers during maternity periods. These commitments were articulated in our Constitution in Part III & IV which have been described as the "conscience of the Constitution". Article 39(f) of our Constitution provides : "that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment".

The right against exploitation is enshrined as a Fundamental Right in Article 24 in Part III of our Constitution, which emphat-

ically states : "No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment".

A Directive Principle of key significance to the well-being and growth of our children is the provision in Article 45 that: "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years".

I have referred to these provisions concerning children in our Constitution specially to show how we as a people have given expression in our Constitution to certain concepts at the core of a great heritage of thought that belongs not just to the people of India but to all humanity.

I am, therefore, particularly glad that this gathering seeks to discuss the impact of legal measures on challenges which are rightly regarded as crucial to our future—the development of our children, the protection of our environment, and the fostering of human health.

These three issues underline, more effectively than most, the fragility of our planet and the tenuous nature of human existence. In different ways, they demonstrate the paradoxes inherent in the evolution of humankind, where each step forward has an invisible cost of at least half a step back. As questions, these issues lead to introspection about the definition of real development. They focus our minds on the inequities and imbalances in our world : amongst nations and even within them. The status of children in various parts of the globe, people's access to facilities and the depletion of our environmental assets, all reflect the pattern of a divided world, in which conspicuous consumption is juxtaposed with stark poverty. At the material level, these issues raise questions about stability and even survival of life on our planet. At the moral plane, they induce doubts about justice and equity inherent in the developmental models to which we subscribe. "Justice", it has been said, "is truth in action". Your discussions, therefore, will bear significance and noble purpose as a quest towards a just global order based on truth and the well-being of humankind.

There has been progress in the last few decades in narrowing gaps in human development. Indicators have been positive with regard to life expectancy, under-five mortality, meeting nutrition

requirements, increasing access to safe water and promoting literacy. This should give us cause for hope as we seek to tackle what yet remains to be done.

But, particularly as between the North and the South, progress has been uneven. The overarching reality is still of a widening gap in the real GDP per capita between the developed and the developing countries. A number of other social indices also portray a polarised world. Differential levels of development are not only between the North and the South, but within societies themselves; India being no exception.

We must recognize that human development today is poised at the cross roads. The choices we make and the paths we seek to follow will determine how humanity will exist in the generations to come.

Children, their welfare and development, are a subject unique in significance and compelling urgency. Representing as they do our lives relived and our hopes, we need to devote to them the utmost attention.

It is a matter of serious concern that even today, the infant mortality rate for least developed countries stands at 114 per thousand, while it has come down to 14 for developed countries. Other statistical evidence relevant to child survival and development is equally disturbing. In developing countries, 16 per cent of babies are born with low birth weight, 34 per cent births are not attended by health personnel, 32 per cent of infants surviving are not breast fed when 12 to 15 months old, 17 per cent remains to be immunised, 36 per cent of under-five children suffer from being underweight and 48 per cent from stunted growth.

Literacy, which is increasingly acknowledged as a key mechanism for development as well as a reliable indicator of it, similarly narrates a sorry tale. Children in the least developed countries have a mean of 1.6 years of schooling which rises only to a mere 3.7 for all developing countries, as against 10 for developed countries.

We have only to examine these statistics, in the context of the promise which all responsible nations hold out to their future citizens, in the World Declaration for the Survival, Protection and Development of Children, to comprehend the enormity of the tasks ahead. We made, in that Declaration, a collective commitment to enhance child health, promote pre and post-natal care, assure access to clean water and sanitation, provide adequate nutrition

and eradicate hunger, promote family planning, respect and encourage the role of the family in providing for children, support literacy programmes and to take special protective measures for those children deemed particularly vulnerable.

I pass no judgement but simply voice our common concern when I state that the task before all of us is of colossal magnitude and demands greater commitment of human and material resources if any tangible and durable improvement is to be achieved in the status of the world's children.

Certain aspects of the development of children, I believe, deserve special focus. There is the predicament of 'the girl child'. From life expectancy to literacy rates, from school enrolment ratios to social status, from employment to inheritance, there is hardly any society in the world where women are treated on par with men. This wrong and unfortunate discrimination against women is extended to the girl child. Several social and demographic studies demonstrate the extent to which girl children, as a group, have been victims of discrimination. Any variations in these studies, are but of the degree of discrimination. That in itself, however, can give cause for some hope: for if some countries and societies can narrow the gender gap, parity may well be eventually achievable.

The prevalence of child labour is another deeply troubling issue. I had referred to Article 24 of the Constitution of India which confers a fundamental right against exploitation of children. Legislation of this nature exists now in many other countries and Article 32 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child incorporates this prohibition. Yet the reality is that there are countries, including some with developed economies, where child workers constitute a conspicuous segment of the aggregate labour force.

Allied to the evil of child labour is the phenomenon of street children. They are the unfortunate victims of poverty and uncontrolled urbanization. Societies must find solutions towards their welfare. Our endeavours must begin by creating greater realization of and sensitivity to the suffering undergone by street children. We must all awaken to the reality that children without homes are children left uncared for. It is essential that concerted steps are taken to address this serious problem.

Each society has its own priorities with regard to health care and access to medical facilities. It is one of the ironies of our age

that the spread of modern medicine should have had such diametrically opposite impacts in the North and the South. On the one hand, we have societies with a rising level of average life expectancy. On the other, we have societies experiencing a population explosion, teeming with children in numbers enough to change the global demographic pattern.

Each has created problems of its own kind. In the more developed nations, the debate is essentially one of the affordability and the coverage of the health care system. But for a vast majority of the world's population the issue still boils down to the rudimentary needs : of safe water, sanitation, immunisation and primary health care. The least developed countries, have a people to doctor ratio of 22,590, vastly different from the developed countries where the ratio is 380. Such regional differentials in health expenditure, life expectancy and human development speak for themselves. A global health agenda needs to be formulated with reference to these disturbing realities.

Child care and human health problems are reflective of the developmental stage of a nation, and the removal of poverty in a broad sense is one aspect of their solution. In considering developmental strategies, we have to bear in mind that there are no easy solutions. Progress is no progress if it destroys our natural environment in the process. Our environment has been jeopardised more by the forces of economic growth than by the meagre needs of the poor. Environmental degradation has a far-reaching adverse impact on the scope for alleviation of poverty. In India, among the Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 48-A specifically enjoins : "The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wild life of the country". I consider this provision to be of pressing significance to the well-being of our children.

Poverty, neglect of children, disregard for health, and environmental degradation are all interconnected issues. Where sanitation is lacking and drinking water is not safe, where pollution is rampant and rivers are poisoned, where forests are denuded and population growth uncontrolled, there can be no true development. Progress cannot be sectional. Nor can it be geographically limited or hierarchically stratified. Jawaharlal Nehru spoke for all of us when he said, "Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is Freedom, so is Prosperity now and so also is Disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments". Implicit

in this message is a holistic approach sensitive to the complex inter-linkages between the major issues before us. An outlook of global cooperation can make a critical difference in meeting the challenges that form the subject matter of this Conference.

Development and progress are painstaking processes which often try human patience. In our history, too often have we fallen to the temptation of quick results—of economies run by command, of social changes attempted through coercion, of prescriptions imposed by fiat. Lacking basic legitimacy, no achievement through arbitrary means has lasted the test of time. Democratic means may be slow but their results are sure because the outcome represents the desires of the people. Real progress can only be through legal means and processes. A great exponent of statecraft in ancient India stated : “It is Law and Morality that sustain the world”. In the present context, that act of sustenance includes providing the inspiration and expertise for fashioning a global order in keeping with our ideals.

Full and proper consideration of the rights of children, and sincere action to give true meaning to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, will definitely impel people around the world to give thought to the moral and ethical imperatives of peace, friendship and cooperation, amongst the nations of the world. To really heed the cry of children, we must address the cause of global peace. Only in conditions of true peace—not just absence of war—can the well-being of the world’s children be ensured. Only when colossal investment in military technology and armament is shifted away towards practical projects of child welfare and human development, would any worthwhile change occur in the global condition of children.

Every nation in the Third World, striving to marshal resources for programmes designed to give children a better future, is confronted with the problem of financial stringency. It is noteworthy that just ten modern jet fighter-aircraft entail a cost of nearly 700 million dollars—an amount equivalent to the entire year’s budget of an international agency like the UNICEF working for child welfare. We must build determination, worldwide, to shun war and to work for peace and thus ensure the safety and happiness of our children in the years and decades ahead.

With these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating this important international Conference.

I am sure your deliberations will be significant.

Service to the Afflicted

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to lay the foundation-stone today of the Nurul Hasan Post Graduate Institute of Medical Sciences and Research at Kalyani.

Medicine and the art of healing is as old as knowledge itself. The *Rig Veda* mentions the medicinal use of plants. Ayurveda itself was originally an *Upveda* of *Atharva Veda*. Its eight-fold division was the beginning of medical specialization and is credited to Dhanyantari. Medical knowledge and surgical practices in India can be traced back to Kasiraja Divodasa and Atreya in the third millennium B.C. and was systematised by Charaka and Susruta at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. The works of Charaka, Susruta, Madhava and Vagbhata were translated into Arabic and Chinese, and were freely borrowed by Greeks and Romans. Under the name of 'Liber Continens', they became the standard European medical compendium in the Middle Ages.

Our intellectual inheritance has, thus, shaped medical knowledge in different parts of the world, a matter of pride for all of us. These ancient traditions serve as sustenance to the medical profession in our own country as well. In medicine, as in other aspects of knowledge, it is enriching to interact with different cultures and societies. We have developed, over the years, an impressive range of skills, not only in indigenous medicine but in Western systems of medicine too. As medical science advances continuously, we often make discoveries, aspects of which may have already been known to our ancestors. Indeed, modern medicine can test with latest technologies and greater rigour the relevance of ancient formulas, for example, plant remedies. It was with this vision of modern skills enhancing our traditional knowledge base that Panditji established institutions like the Central Drug Research Institute. Today, when bio-technology has focused attention on the medicinal qualities and application of Neem, it indicates the potential for modernity to build on tradition.

The health of the people is the fundamental concern of any State, and this is particularly so in a democracy. Human development is, after all, a function of the well-being of a society. We, in

India, have made health a particular priority as colonial rule left a significant portion of our population malnourished and debilitated. A land once known for its riches was dreaded for its diseases. With independence, the national commitment to urgently address issues involving public health was emphasized by its inclusion in the Directive Principles of State Policy of our Constitution. The State was to regard raising the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and improvement of public health as among its primary duties.

Over the years, we have undoubtedly made significant progress in terms of health, nutrition, immunization and sanitation. An average Indian today lives longer and better than four decades ago. But the challenge of public health is a task of growing complexity. To traditional communicable diseases have now been added post-transitional diseases like cancer and cardio-vascular. In seeking solutions, we are constrained by finite resources, hampered by ignorance and illiteracy, and stretched by the growth in our population. After 47 years of effort, in India we have only one doctor for 2000 Indians. Only 13 per cent of our population is said to have access to adequate sanitation. Our maternal mortality rate is still unacceptably high, as is our infant mortality. Moreover, the demands on our health system have escalated with the increase in population. It will take considerable commitment of resources, effort and above all, dedication, before we can claim that we have provided to our people the quality of health care which they deserve and expect. 'Health for All by 2000 A.D.' remains our goal, for the realisation of which not only the medical profession but society as a whole must strive.

In seeking to combat priority problems in the field of health, National Programmes have been evolved in order to focus attention, enhance research and improve patient care. These programmes today cover Malaria, Filariasis, Encephalitis, Tuberculosis, Leprosy, Kala Azar, Blindness, Iodine Deficiency, Cancer and AIDS. In this endeavour, the contribution which centres of research and medical care can make is vital. A Post Graduate Institute offers a high standard of medical education and produces specialists. By bringing together at one place facilities of quality training in all branches of health activity, it naturally becomes a Centre of Excellence which inspires improvement in medical institutions in the entire region. Post Graduate Institutes have the capability to conduct research in specialised areas and can offer speciality care for those needing such attention.

I am very glad, therefore, that the Post Graduate Institute of Medical Sciences and Research is being established in Kalyani to cater to the requirements of the east and the north-east. It is a matter of satisfaction that all States in these regions have joined their efforts to sponsor this important project. No longer will patients from Nagaland or Assam or West Bengal have to travel far in search of specialized treatment. Bringing health care even to distant regions is a significant aspect of decentralization and of democracy.

Bengal itself has a long tradition of medical learning, in Ayurveda and in Allopathy. The first modern Medical School in the country was established in Calcutta. Bengal has produced medical luminaries like Dr. B.C. Roy and Dr. U.N. Brahmachari. Doctors working in the hospitals of the State have made radical progress in the treatment of Malaria, Cholera and Kala Azar. Bengal has also played a major role in the production of modern scientific medicines in the country. It is appropriate that a quality Institute for medical education, research and treatment should be established here.

The location of Kalyani as the site for the Institute is commendable. It is symbolic of the fact that we do not consider access to modern medicine to be the privilege of urban areas and are committed to enhance rural access. As Bapu reminded us from time to time, India is a land of villages. Rural health is key to national development.

This project, I believe, will begin with an initial investment of Rs. 10 crore and will be within the State Sector. Health is a subject for which Government has the primary responsibility. But in the context of ongoing economic reforms, there is a strong case for the private sector to invest in the infrastructure, of which health forms a vital aspect. Private sector, after all, is the principal beneficiary of the development of our human resources. Efforts to seek their participation in such projects should be encouraged. This can be even in a supportive role. For example, with the establishment of this Institute, the need for affordable accommodation for those accompanying patients will arise. This will be particularly so as the Institute would also cater to patients from other States. I hope to see our industrialists and business houses come forward to fulfil their social responsibilities.

The Institute has been named in memory of late Prof. Nurul Hasan, who was Governor of West Bengal. I had the privilege of

knowing Nurul Hasanji over many years. In all his activities and in the numerous positions he held, his desire to improve the lot of his countrymen was evident. He was a strong advocate of science in the service of humanity. I am sure that nothing would have given him greater happiness than to have this medical institution, so important to the life of the people of this region, develop as a premier institution for health and research.

This Institute must be equipped with the latest medical technologies so that the full fruits of modern medicine are available to our people. Many of our doctors in service abroad have distinguished themselves in medical research, education and application. Given similar access to technologies in India, I have no doubt that their capabilities will be enhanced. The recent heart transplant in our country is an example which should inspire our young doctors and medical researchers.

The burden of responsibilities of healing and caring are indeed heavy. But the satisfaction of saving a life is unique. Service to the afflicted is a task of supreme nobility which has its own rewards. Bapu tended on the leprosy patient Parchure Shastri. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar nursed his cholera-stricken teacher. Countless doctors in our country follow in their footsteps, recalling Narsi Mehta's poem of which Bapu was so fond :

“वैष्णव जन तो तेने कहिए जे पीर पराई जाणे रे,
पर दुःखे उपकार करे तोये, मन अभिमान न आणे रे।”

“A man of God is one who knows the sufferings of others, He is a person who renders service with humility”.

Duty and Service are the hallmark of the medical profession, whose purpose may be expressed in the words of Dharmaraja Yudhisthira :

“न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं न पुनर्भवम्।
कामये दुःख तप्तानां प्राणिनां आर्तनाशनम्॥”

“I seek no kingdoms nor heavenly pleasure nor personal salvation, since to relieve humanity from its manifold pains and sufferings is the supreme objective of mankind”.

This Institute, the foundation-stone of which I have laid today, is a manifestation of our commitment to better the life of our people. Providing relief to the afflicted, it will be a symbol of hope and a source of comfort. I am sure that I speak for all of us when I pray for its early realisation.

Fighting a Dreaded Disease

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome all of you who have assembled here from different parts of the country to attend the Annual General Meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh. The noble cause which has brought you all together is your dedication to combat leprosy.

Leprosy is not a mere medical problem. Its very mention evokes an extraordinary dread. It brings out deep seated prejudices in the minds of the ignorant. Because ostracism rather than medicine was seen as a solution, it became as much a social problem as a medical one.

Inadequate nutrition and sanitation are among the root causes of leprosy. It is thus a classic symptom of socio-economic under development. It is no accident that the endemic countries are the nations of the South. Eradication of leprosy, therefore, is an intrinsic aspect of the progress of such societies. Its elimination is not only a humanitarian endeavour, but one which affirms our ability to meet the basic wants of our people.

Medical and social aspects of leprosy are inextricably linked. Effective treatment by modern medicines should convince even the most superstitious that this disease is entirely man-made and should not be taken for a divine message. Its very curability remove the stigma attached to the disease and create an environment for the rehabilitation of the afflicted. In the last decade, Multi Drug Therapy (MDT) has allowed leprosy eradication to make considerable headway. You are all aware that MDT services had been introduced in 245 districts by March, 1994. Mobile Leprosy Treatment Units are covering moderate and low endemic districts. I understand that all districts of the country have now been sanctioned MDT, and that from 1995, all leprosy cases will be covered by this treatment. The result of these efforts is reflected in a fall of 80 per cent in the prevalence rate and 70 per cent in the deformity rate in those districts where MDT services have been available for five years.

Early detection of cases and prompt treatment with MDT is a course which has yielded dividends. It has not only improved motivation among patients and medical staff, but by demonstrating successful therapy, has increased voluntary reporting among new patients. The low relapse rate is also a matter of encouragement. Yet, this is no time for complacency. Each sign of progress must only reinforce in us a determination to complete the job. The exercise of monitoring and carrying out special surveys must be unceasing. Domiciliary treatment must be expanded. The organization of health education must receive greater attention. Even as MDT services are consolidated, new treatments must be constantly explored. The expansion of surgery facilities in leprosy hospitals is also important. As leprosy occurs in the context of poverty, the provision of free facilities to patients and free supply of prosthetics and protective equipment should be encouraged. Rehabilitation programmes must be vigorously pursued so that the message is spread that there can be life after leprosy.

Effective rehabilitation requires overcoming the prejudices attached to leprosy. Mahatma Gandhi set a personal example by tending on Parchure Shastri. Not all of us have his strength of conviction or his selflessness. Yet we can, each in our own humble way, contribute—by giving time, donating resources, by creating awareness, or by providing employment opportunities. The Government has programmes to set aside jobs for the orthopaedically handicapped. But we must look beyond that in our care for leprosy patients. The time has come for the private sector, which should display social responsibility, to step forward. It should be our joint endeavour to give economic self-sufficiency to leprosy patients so that they can regain confidence and pride in themselves. We must remember these words of Bapu, “Why should there be a stigma about leprosy any more than about other infectious diseases? Real leprosy is attached to an unclean mind. To look down upon fellow human beings, to condemn any community or class of men, is a sign of diseased mind far worse than physical leprosy. Such men are real lepers of society”.

Voluntary organizations have a critical role in the fight against leprosy. Their contribution covers the range of activities involved in leprosy eradication, from the detection of cases, to their treatment, health education, training and research, and rehabilitation. They have the ability to mobilise and educate public opinion. The success of our national programme rests, to a large

measure, on their efforts. The Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh is the oldest of the voluntary organizations in the country extending services to leprosy patients. Its record in health education, community awareness, and rehabilitation has been creditworthy. I am glad to note that the Sangh has identified priority areas to augment the activities of the National Programme. This includes training and reorientation of health staff, orientation courses for health workers, medical facilities for leprosy patients in Delhi, and rehabilitation programmes in different parts of the country. As the President of the Sangh, I commend these efforts and urge you to intensify them in the coming years.

One fourth of the estimated cases and 60 per cent of the registered cases of leprosy in the world are in India. In the last decade, estimated cases have been brought down from almost four million to less than a million. The light at the end of this dark tunnel is finally visible. We, the Government, medical personnel, voluntary organizations, and the public must strive unitedly to achieve Bapu's dream of the total elimination of leprosy in India.

IV

Education, Art and Culture

Teaching by Example

I AM HAPPY to participate in this function for the presentation of National Awards to meritorious teachers for their dedicated service to the cause of education. I have great pleasure in congratulating the recipients of the National Awards for this year. The awardees and, indeed, the teaching fraternity as a whole must continue to strive towards strengthening the forces of national integration and development in the country.

In Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, whose birth anniversary is observed on 5th September as Teachers' Day, we had an educationist of exceptional stature. He was a most distinguished expositor and interpreter of Indian culture and his contribution in the field of education is of lasting importance. Dr. Radhakrishnan's interest in education began at the Calcutta University which he joined at the behest of the then Vice Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and with which he was associated until 1941. But, beyond the classrooms, all those who met or saw him were always impressed by the loftiness of character and idealism that imbued his personality. Perhaps, our seers had such a luminary in mind when they proclaimed:—'*Saa Vidya ya Vimuktaye*'—'Education is that which liberates'. It is befitting that, on this day, we pay homage to him.

Teachers have traditionally been venerated in our society and have been compared to the Creator. The word Acharya has for long denoted the perfect teacher, who is unblemished in *Acharan* in our educational tradition, an "Acharya" is one who has achieved that perfection of character by virtue of which he can do no wrong. The *wyakhya* or meaning of the word "Acharya" is this : *Chara* in Sanskrit stands for the words "to move" and "Acharya", therefore, denotes one who impels movement—movement of mind. The Acharya is, therefore, one who mobilizes the mind. It is an extremely high and demanding pedestal. The responsibility on the Acharya is, indeed, great: *Sishyam Papam Gurum Vrajat*: the teacher has to bear the responsibility for the sins of his students.

You have all heard of Acharya Narendra Dev and some of us have been so fortunate as to know him. He was a great and noble leader of the freedom movement and a scholar of vast learning, extreme simplicity and transparent sincerity. Panditji was keen to have him where he seemed to belong—as a Vice Chancellor—and he served first at Lucknow and then at the Banaras Hindu University. Narendra Devji's high ideals and his truly remarkable spirit of service gave substantive content to the richly-merited appellation of Acharya to his name and inspired me very much during my years at Lucknow. In mentioning Acharya Narendra Dev, I wish to stress one of the main objectives of education, namely, the quality of humility and the willingness to listen and learn. There is the well-known saying in Sanskrit *Vidya Dadati Vinayam* and an old Tamil proverb "What I have learnt is, a handful of sand, what I have not is, the size of this world."

Another great teacher comes to my mind: Dr. Zakir Husain whose gentle personality and profound knowledge won him the abundant affection and respect of his students. In Zakir Sahib's personality we find two qualities which are of fundamental importance to teachers: the qualities of observation and of understanding. Without the faculty of observation, a teacher cannot identify the individual potential and aptitude of his student and, without the gift of understanding, he will be unable to nurture and develop that potential and aptitude to optimum levels. The essence of a good teacher, Zakir Saheb said, "is the whole-hearted attempt to get values realised in other young persons with loving sympathy for the understanding of the needs and gifts of these persons. His (the teacher's) chief pre-occupation is with unripe, growing lives, with personality, as it were, in the bud. He is guided in this by the characteristics of his ward, he seeks to help the bud into full bloom and not to make paper-flowers to satisfy his whim and fancy."

A good teacher teaches best through his or her own example; it is said that the most powerful lessons are never spoken aloud. The skilled carpenter, bent over his tools, works with exquisite skill without uttering a word; the apprentice learns. A pupil learns from a poet or painter in silence. The surgeon performing a skilled operation has no wish to explain each of his dexterous moves, which are learnt in silence by his pupils. A teacher of exemplary character, thought and action communicates the ideals which should be emulated through his own example.

I am reminded of a moving and meaningful Hadith which, if I may so say, could be pondered over by all who bear this important responsibility of moulding and giving direction to young minds and instilling in them an awareness of and acceptance of moral and ethical imperative. I refer to the Holy Prophet's having first denied himself the partaking of any sweetmeats before endorsing a prescription to this effect to a child suffering from an ailment which required avoidance of sweets.

It is of perpetual importance for teachers to bear in mind that whatever they think, say or do has a certain influence on those entrusted to their care. There must be a close relationship between the teacher and the taught such as existed in our *pathshalas* and *makhtabs* till the advent of the British system of education. Much of what is now said about indiscipline in the educational institutions appears but a consequence of the present state of things. Discipline is not always enforced but has to grow from within: for this purpose, we have to find ways and means to again promote a system which permits greater personal contact between teachers and their students.

If we look back to our years in school or college, many of us, I think, would recall a favourite teacher. And if we reflect on that memory a little carefully, we begin to see that that favourite teacher was one who never tried to indoctrinate or impose. On the contrary, he encouraged us to think on our own, to question, to observe and to infer with as little formal intrusion on his part as possible. For such a teacher, the mind of the pupil was not an empty space to be cluttered by facts per se; for him, the mind of his students was a canvas, on which they, with his subtle guidance, would draw their own strokes and lines of intellectual and physical development.

What should be the role of our teachers today? No doubt, they are required to teach a certain curriculum within a prescribed time frame but this can only be one aspect of their overall contribution to the development of their pupils who constitute the coming generations of this country. More importantly, therefore, a teacher must succeed in conveying the larger ideals of service to the community, the importance of character, integrity and discipline and the value of humanism to his pupils so that our educational institutions are the nurseries not only of good students but of good citizens as well.

The role of a teacher has a definite correlation to the imperatives of his or her environment. Our country having achieved political freedom through tremendous sacrifice and struggle under the leadership of men and women who became legends in their own time has now to consolidate that freedom and reinforce national unity by means of a process of educational development, cultural integration, economic growth and social emancipation. It is through the teacher that our children will best know the ethical and moral values and the ideals on which rest the foundations of modern India. It is through our teachers that a democratic and patriotic outlook can be inculcated in the younger generation and it is through them that the citizens of tomorrow will be made aware of our heritage of thought and culture, and will learn to combat social prejudices and archaic practices such as dowry and casteism. And it is with their guidance that impressionable minds will be able to fully absorb the virtues of tolerance and respect for all faiths and understand the significance of secularism in our national polity.

Our children must know these important lines from the Guruvani:

अव्वल अल्लाह नूर उपाए
कुदरत के सब बन्दे,
एक रूप से सब जग उपज्यो
कौन भले कौन मंदे

(First, God created His Light; and from it were all men made, From God's Light came the whole Universe: then, whom shall we call good, whom bad?)

And they should be aware also of the message of the Holy Bible:

"Owe no man anything but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law."

I have often emphasized the great spirit of tolerance and coexistence in our religious and cultural tradition because this is a fact that needs to be reiterated today with as much emphasis as is possible; and teachers, who deal with children in their formative years, can help convey this message more enduringly and effectively than anyone else.

I may also dwell upon another aspect. India is today striving towards economic progress with social justice and in this endeavour,

the teacher has an extremely important role to perform by way of facilitating the application of knowledge to productive economic skills and vocations. Education cannot exist in a vacuum. It must help in improving the quality of life of those who are so educated. A literate person is better able to do his job and is more aware of the possibilities of improving his skills. Therefore, the role of teachers in imparting basic literacy is crucial. The drop-out rate of students from schools, particularly in the rural area, is unacceptably high. Teachers can have a critical impact in motivating children to remain in schools. I have often felt that, beyond the confines of curricula and class rooms, and in more ways than one, teachers are engines of national growth in themselves.

In making some of these observations, I am, of course, aware of the material limitations under which our teachers have worked. The intention is not to put them on a conceptual pedestal without reference to the realities on the ground. However, in spite of shortcomings in terms of basic facilities, equipment and living conditions, our teachers will, I know, be always spurred on by the expectation which our society has had of them.

May I end by again congratulating those who have won the National Awards today. They have come from various parts of India representing different regions, languages and disciplines and we have here, through their presence, a microcosm of India, as it were. I wish them all success in their tasks ahead and extend my cordial greetings to the fraternity of teachers in the country.

Harness Human Resources for Constructive Work

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to visit the beautiful State of Assam again. I thank the Chief Minister, Shri Hiteswar Saikia, for his thoughtful invitation. My happiness is greater, as this occasion enables me to see and to meet students and the academic community in a very eminent institution of learning which bears the illustrious name of Sir Henry Cotton.

Sir Henry Cotton has a special position in the development of Assam and is connected with the history of our struggle for freedom. Although for many years he had been a functionary in the elaborate apparatus of colonial administration in India, Cotton was a man of keen insights and was driven by a strong sense of duty and service. He perceived the importance of being responsive to local needs and aspirations and strove manfully to establish a form of governance having regard to the values of equality, justice and liberty. Eminent Indians at that time, along with many others, were touched by the courage of conviction displayed by Cotton in his attitude on issues concerning public good. As Chief Secretary of Bengal, participating in a debate on the Calcutta Municipal Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council, Cotton had the moral courage of voting against the Government. He was staunch in supporting the interest of workers on tea plantations in Assam and was forthright in his views on the growth of nationalist sentiment in India. He said; "The people of India, enlightened and educated by ourselves, expanding with new ideas and fired by an ambition to which English Education has given birth, make demands which are continually more and more reasonable and more and more irresistible." His contribution towards establishing collegiate education in Assam despite official resistance was of crucial importance in the building of this very institution.

Cotton's commitment in service of the people endeared him amongst Indians. Later, when he became the President of the Indian National Congress in 1904, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta said: "Is it a wonder that people have thronged from all parts of the country to greet Sir Henry Cotton in the chair? Gentlemen, he lost the Lieut. Governorship of Bengal, because he pleaded the cause of the poor ... of Assam, but Gentlemen, he has gained a larger and a grander Governorship, a greater Governorship than the Lieut. Governorship of Bengal; he has secured the Governorship of our hearts and minds."

Some of Cotton's perceptions are of interest and appositeness today though articulated by him in the first decade of this century. Cotton had said : "A nation is the best administered which can manage its own concerns with the least aid from Government; and no system of administration can be progressive or beneficial which crushes out the self-reliance of the people."

It is true that through the years of British rule in India, from time to time, a humane and enlightened approach was exhibited

by some notable personalities from the United Kingdom, who, I believe, represented the best element in educated British opinion. Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, C.F. Andrews, Dr. Annie Besant and Margaret Slade (Mira Ben) are some among those in that category.

It is in this context that even after Independence, the Cotton College was developed by Government, with due respect to the name it bore, as a leading institution of higher education performing a key role towards the modernisation and growth of Assam: on the strength of the ideals, talents and energy of new generations of Indians in Assam.

I am happy that over the last ninety years, Cotton College has grown and diversified, and is imparting teaching in a wide variety of subjects in the sphere of the Humanities and the Sciences. I am glad that a number of specialised research projects are also being undertaken in numerous areas of interest, including: Assamese literature and linguistics, geo-morphology, high energy physics, bio-technology, micro-biology and advanced mathematics.

The wealth of talent assembled in the teaching staff of the College, the library and extra-curricular facilities developed, and the range of co-curricular activities in Cotton College, comprise important inputs to the organisation of an environment for education of high quality.

It is understandable, therefore, that Cotton College should have given to society, a number of eminent citizens. I understand that Sir Syed Mohamadullah, Lokpriya Gopinath Bordoloi, Shri Bishnu Ram Medhi, Shri Sarad Chandra Sinha, Shri Dinesh Goswami, and of course the Chief Minister of Assam, Shri Hiteswar Saikia, have had Cotton College as their *Alma Mater*. Shri Hiteswar Saikia's attachment to this institution was very evident to me when he extended his thoughtful invitation.

I am very happy that this illustrious institution has been selected by the State Government of Assam for being developed as a Centre of Excellence, fully equipped as a post-graduate institution, integrated with under-graduate and higher secondary level studies. I regard this as an important initiative in the cause of higher education in this important region of our great country, and I am sure that with devotion, expertise and essential resources,

Cotton College will play a very significant role in the building of a new Assam, a new India.

Friends, it is vitally necessary for all of us to realise, and to act on the realisation, that the surest and the safest method, to achieve progress and build a better quality of life, is through the efficient marshalling of human, natural and material resources for constructive activity in an atmosphere of harmony, mutual cooperation, and joint endeavour.

I might remind you that during our struggle for freedom, the problem of subjugation under foreign rule, and the consequent problems of poverty, ignorance and disease, were common to all parts of our country. Under the guidance of great national leaders, the people of our country were helped in understanding that the challenges that confronted them in their day-to-day life in the locality, comprised only the local facets of a sub-continental crisis that gripped the entire country. The people were assisted in realising that the root cause of poverty, ignorance and disease in any single area, as in the rest of the country, was one and the same, and that the very complexity and size of these problems required that solutions be organised on the basis of national unity and the power of concerted nation-wide action. Such an approach was propagated not as a matter of abstruse political ideology, but as a matter of practical need, advised by common sense.

Today, Assam faces problems and challenges which are only the Assamese facets of nation-wide problems and challenges. We have to realise that the tasks of alleviating poverty, of spreading education, and of eradicating disease — all these tasks can be accomplished better, quicker, and with less difficulty, if local energies, talents, resources and programmes are intermeshed with the efforts and resources of all other parts of the country.

More than ever, Assam now needs a period of peace during which every effort can be made to achieve a systemic transformation. The State must have the benefit of a phase when primary attention can be devoted to the task of building the economy, of raising per capita incomes, creating gainful employment, finding rewarding markets for the produce of Assam, using Science and Technology to upgrade and enhance local agriculture, industry and tertiary services, giving Assam time to flourish in her own culture and ethos, so that the genius of the Assamese people ushers in an era of stability, peace and prosperity.

All these are achievable objectives but certain basic essentials have to be clearly accepted—essentials that have formed the foundations of every successful society intent on self-regenerative growth: the principles of democratic functioning, of secularism, faith in the destiny of the nation, and resolute self-confidence based on a full and accurate awareness of heritage, talents, resources, responsibility and opportunity.

The alternative to such an approach is the dark path of uncertainty, ignorance, division, violence and despair—a path which has been followed by some—and is, inevitably, attended by frustration and tragedy.

The youth in Assam can, and should, take the lead in ushering in a period of peace, prosperity and happiness. The youth have the benefit of the experience and history of all that has passed before them. The youth have the freedom, have the opportunity, to choose the right path rather than one ridden with pitfalls and dangers. And I have often said, the younger generation has a far greater stake in the building of a secure future—for the simple reason that they have many more years, many more decades before them. It stands to reason, therefore, that a practical, result-oriented approach should prevail, and those who are young in years but are privileged to be recipients of higher education, fortunate in securing the skills and expertise that may be gained from modern education system, should devote themselves with a sense of commitment to the building of an atmosphere in which full potential for growth and prosperity can be realised.

As Henry Cotton had said in his speech as Congress President at the 20th Session of the Indian National Congress in Bombay: "We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths; . . . He most lives, who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

May I once again express my gratitude to Saikiaji and the Cotton College Union Society for their kind invitation. I extend my greetings and felicitations to the Principal of the College, the members of the Faculties and the students of this renowned College, and pray for the success and happiness of all of you in the months and decades ahead.

Augment the Spirit of Oneness and Unity

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be with you today for the presentation of awards bearing the name of the great saint-poet reformer Srimanta Sankaradeva. I have had the privilege of giving away the 1989 Srimanta Sankaradeva Awards to Dr. Maheshwar Neog. Today I have the pleasant duty of giving away the 1991 Award to Professor Satyendra Nath Sarmah and the 1992 Award to Professor R.N.Dandekar. Professor Sarmah's specialized studies in the Vaishnav traditions of Assam, and Dr. R.N.Dandekar's contributions to Indology, are widely recognized. I extend to them my congratulations and felicitations. I wish them good health, peace of mind, and even greater success in their scholarly endeavours.

The Srimanta Sankaradeva Awards instituted by the State Government, have helped in emphasising the emotional and cultural unity of our great nation, and in giving expression to the message of India, relevant to every Indian, and, indeed, to all human beings.

Srimanta Sankaradeva had sung;

“विष्णुमय देखे यियो समस्ते जगते ।
सकल प्राणीक देखिने आत्म-सम,
उपाय मध्यत इयो अति मुख्यतम ।”

“Seeing Divinity pervading all existence,
Viewing all creatures as one's own self,
Is the supreme among all ways.”

The *Bhagavad Gita* gives us the concept of “अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु” of the indivisible and uniting element in the apparently divided—of unity and oneness in diversity—a concept that is expressed by all the great thinkers, and saint-poets of India, repeatedly through the centuries. *The Rig Veda*—the most ancient literature of humankind—gave us the doctrine of oneness in the words ‘There is only one race; of human beings’. The immortal Tamil Saint Thiruvalluvar, the Alwar poets, the Saint poets of Maharashtra:

Gnyaneshwar, Tukaram, Eknath, Namdev, Ramdas Swami; the Saint poets of the North—Tulsi, Surdas—all spread the same light. Kabir's *doha* in the holy *Guru Granth Sahib* speaks of one light being the origin of all; Guru Gobind Singh sang the same message. The *Koran* repeatedly speaks of the oneness of all humankind. Jain, Buddhist, Christian and Zoroastrian thought illuminates the same perception.

Srimanta Sankaradeva expressed this in various ways—through song, dance, and painting, through speech, *pravachanas* and social action. He induced a tremendous social awareness of a higher purpose of life which influenced generations and stimulated a qualitative cultural change.

Srimanta Sankaradeva had travelled and stayed in Orissa and been deeply moved by devotion to Lord Jagannath in Puri. He had propagated the Bhakti marg—the path of Devotion for God—realization, utilizing the methodology of 'Satsang' or congregation *nama smarana* or chanting of the holy name, and *ekasarana* that is concentration on the concept of a supreme divinity. His approach found natural synthesis with other great souls who formed and enlarged the Bhakti movement. The total experience of the Bhakti marg under Srimanta Sankaradeva's guidance brought about a sense of equality, social oneness, courage, catholicity and universality of outlook. All this strengthened the moral and ethical fibre of the people and energised the growth and efflorescence of a new culture and ethos—humane, enlightened and steadfast. The unifying effect of Srimanta Sankaradeva's teachings is symbolized in the ranks of his disciples—Chandsai and Jayahari who were Muslims, Govinda—a Garo, Jayananda—Bhotiya, Madhav—a potter, and Damodar—a merchant. Ahoms, Koches, Miris, Kacharis, Mayans and many other tribal communities took to the doctrine and outlook preached by Srimanta Sankaradeva. He established the system of 'Sattras' or congregations which developed the institution of the village 'namghar'—the twin institutions helped regulate and promote an orderly and democratic outlook amongst the people in Assam, and helped stabilize, and vivify the lives of the masses in Assam.

Today there is a need to widen public awareness and understanding of Srimanta Sankaradeva and his message. It would be an exercise of great positive value to translate his compositions into the various languages of our country and to bring out editions as could be read and absorbed by children, the youth and the lay

reader other than the specialist student. As a corollary, it would be equally rewarding to undertake comparative studies of the compositions of Srimanta Sankaradeva and of the other great saint-poets of India. This would bring out how the most advanced minds in different periods of our history, and in all regions of our country, articulated identical values, outlooks and moral and ethical principals.

And as a cognate endeavour, it would be fruitful to translate into the beautiful Assamese language and languages of the North-eastern region, the compositions of saint-poets from other parts of the country.

Narsi Mehta of Gujarat had sung:

‘वैष्णव जन तो तेने कहिए जे पीर पराई जाणे रे
पर दुखे उपकार करे तोये मन अभिमान न आणे रे।’

“Consider him to be the true devotee who identifies with those who suffer and bears no vanity in serving them.”

Tukaram from Maharashtra expressed the same thought:

‘जे का रंजलेले गांजले त्यासी जो म्हणे आपुले
स्वामी तेथे ओळखावा, देव तेथे जाणावा।’

“Who identifies with the afflicted, stricken and destitute, may be recognized as wise; divinity may be appreciated therein.”

The *Srimad Bhagwat* echoed Vyas in the *Mahabharat* when Yudhishtir says:

न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गम् नापुर्भवम्।
कामये दुःखतृप्तानां प्राणिनामर्तिनाशनम्।

“I desire no kingdom, heaven or release from the cycle of birth and death; Oh I have the capacity to remove the suffering of all living things.”

The resonance in the thought of Srimanta Sankaradeva is evident in his words:

“नवाम्छेहो सुख भोगे नमागो मुकुति।”

“I seek no spell of happiness nor is salvation my need.” (I seek only communion with You.)

For some years now, I have been initiating such work. The *Gnyaneshwari*, by the great saint Gnyaneshwar was translated

from Marathi into Hindi utilizing the 'owi' metre. It was translated into Tamil. The Tamil *Kamba Ramayanam* was translated in verse into Sanskrit. The immortal work *Thirukkural*, of the great Thiruvalluwar, was translated into Hindi, and striking identity of thought in verses of the *Kural* and of Kabir were found, and with verses of Tulsidas in his *Ramacharitamanas*, Rahim, the *Taittreya Upanishad*, and the *Gita*. The compositions of Sankaradeva and Madhavdev, similarly were translated into Hindi. A dictionary of Punjabi and Sanskrit language was prepared by the Pandit Ganganath Jha Institute, Allahabad. Interestingly, the dictionary indicated that as many as 18,000 phrases in colloquial Punjabi are actually Sanskrit; in fact: Vedic Sanskrit.

A systematic, comprehensive and expert endeavour undertaken with the cooperation of scholars in different languages to translate and interpret the rich literature and thought in the compositions of our saint-poets would, I feel, go a long way in enriching our people in all States and regions and in bringing to their homes the tremendous wealth of our rich intellectual and spiritual heritage.

I believe it would also, simultaneously, catalyse positive growth and enrichment of our many languages, help in widening understanding of the different scripts of India, linguistic styles, forms of expression, prose, poetry and prosody, and augment the sense of national unity. Such a process has relevance to human consciousness the world over. For it is through knowledge that one gains understanding, and understanding leads to friendship, to cooperation and to progress.

“न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते”

The *Gita* says: “Verily there is no improver/purifier in this world like knowledge.”

“तद्विद्धि प्राणिपातेन परिप्रश्ने सेवया
उपदेक्ष्यन्ति ते ज्ञानं ज्ञानिनस्त दर्शिनः”

“Attain this knowledge by prolonged devotion, earnest enquiry and service; who are wise will impart this to you.”

The Chief Minister of Assam, Shri Hiteswar Saikia is here. Perhaps, under his guidance, the State Government could initiate or assist work of this nature. An endeavour in this direction, I am sure, would benefit the people of Assam, the people of other states and of course be of special value to all associated directly with the

task. Assam gave to other States of India Srimanta Sankaradeva who sang the gospel of oneness, purity, devotion, understanding and reform. Assam could now receive the resonance of thought from all parts of India and lead a process of inter-culturization and synthesis.

May I once again congratulate the distinguished awardees, and the State Government on their very valuable initiatives.

I thank Shri Saikiaji for his thoughtful invitation to me to be with you for this important function.

I extend my greetings and felicitations to all those who love the language of Assam, and its great literature, and who wish to see a process of enrichment and growth flourish and to contribute towards its progress, in harmony with the thoughts of Srimanta Sankaradeva.

Essence of True Education

IT GIVES ME immense happiness to be in Prasanthi Nilayam again, in close proximity with the Revered Chancellor—in his सान्निध्य and amongst all the young people present : students, their teachers and guides.

Once earlier, having been called upon to address the Convocation of the Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Learning, I had met students and members of the faculties in this esteemed institution. To the best of my knowledge, this is perhaps the only instance of anyone being invited for a second time to deliver a Convocation Address at a University, and I am greatly moved by the honour thus done to me.

I recall the deep impression made on me on seeing the infrastructure, atmosphere, equipment and human resources organized for imparting education at Vidyagiri. That was five years ago—on 22nd November 1987, and in this period the further

development of the Institute, in every respect, is a matter of great satisfaction. All this has been possible under the guidance of the Revered Chancellor. Today the campuses at Prasanthi Nilayam, Brindawan and Anantapur are invaluable assets in the crucial task of imparting Integral Education. Indeed these constitute a blessing of far-reaching significance.

It is truly remarkable that all students—at under-graduate and post-graduate levels, in general as well as in professional programmes—are exempted from paying any tuition fees or making even a security deposit. There is much to be learnt here—by the student, the teacher, by educationists and policy-makers.

I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to the Revered Chancellor for all that he has done and initiated, so uniquely, enrich India and light the true path for all.

Young friends, the process of becoming aware of one's mind, of being, as the Buddha said 'Mindful', learning to establish, and establishing, control over it, training and harnessing it, developing its resources in terms of memory, knowledge, ability to analyse and understand, and using the mind efficiently as one would an important and sensitive apparatus, is a key aspect—a challenging and rewarding aspect—of education. This, as you may know is an arduous task.

In the *Bhagavad Gita*, Arjuna says:

चंचलं हि मनः कृष्ण प्रमाथि बलवद्दृढम् ।
तस्याहं निग्रहं मन्ये वायोरिव सुदुष्करम् ॥

— Ch. VI. 34

"Restless, unstable, because the mind is, O' Krishna, turbulent, powerful and tenacious, I deem it as difficult as the wind to control."
Shri Krishna had then observed :

असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम् ।
अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते ॥

— Ch. VI. 35

"Doubtless, O' Powerfully equipped, the mind is indisciplined, mercurial. But by constant practice, the mind being free of attachments, may be disciplined in a state of controlled dynamism."

The *Gita* gives us indications of the technique useful in the attainment and consolidation of control over one's mind, in developing one's mind, and in utilizing the resources of an enriched, trained mind for purposes identified and determined by one's intellect.

Among the first steps in this direction is awareness as to the proneness of one's mind to be susceptible to sensory phenomena; to realize that pain and pleasure, the various emotions, bodily and psychological wants, desires, and attachments, engross the mind and account for its volatility, unsteadiness, and therefore its spasmodic engagement in pursuit of sensory fulfilment. In the *Gita*, Shri Krishna says:

यततो ह्यपि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः।
इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः॥

— Ch. II. 60

“Causing turbulence, sensory perceptions divert away the mind even of a wise man striving for self-control, Oh son of Kunti.”

ध्यायतो विषयान्पुंसः संगस्तेषूपजयाते।
संगात् संजायते कामः कामात्क्रोधोऽभिजायते॥

— Ch. II. 62

“Involved with sensory objects, attachment to these develops; from attachment desire; from desire anger.”

क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः संमोहात्स्मृति विभ्रमः।
स्मृति भ्रंशाद्बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशात्प्रणश्यति॥

— Ch. II. 63

“From anger emerges delusion; from delusion confusion of purpose and memory; from confusion ruin of Reason; from ruin of Reason self-destruction”.

Hence the student aiming to develop concentration of mind and using his mind appropriately for designated tasks, should be aware of sensory distractions and exert himself in insulating and restraining his mind from such weakening involvements. For most, this entails a life-long endeavour, and that too, it is said, over several lives.

Concentration of the mind and mind control can be assisted by certain methods. It is useful to learn them. I have myself found these to be of practical utility. One could cultivate the technique as a part of inculcating positive work habits.

Moderation in food, sleep and recreation is also advised. The *Gita* refers to :

युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य ।

—Ch.VI. 17

and recommends food :

आयुः सत्त्वबलारोग्यं सुखं प्रीतिविवर्धनाः ।
रस्याः स्निग्धाः स्थिरा हृद्या आहाराः ॥

—Ch. XVII. 8

“Foods that promote vitality,
longevity, energy, health,
cheerfulness, which are agreeable,
or neutral to taste, and sufficient.”

I have mentioned all this with regard to the specific purpose before you, my young friends, of your taking charge of yourselves, and developing yourselves with due care and efficiency successfully to address the future and the challenges it, inevitably, holds out.

There will be your role as a student and then as a citizen of this nation, and our Constitution provides for rights as well as duties of citizens. The rights are reasonably well-known and asserted with due vigour. You can set an example in the full and constant performance of the prescribed duties. What are these? The contents of Article 51-A of the Constitution tell us :

51-A Fundamental duties—“it shall be the duty of every citizen of India—

- (a) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;
- (b) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
- (c) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
- (d) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

- (e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
- (f) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
- (g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life, and to have compassion for living creatures;
- (h) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;
- (i) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
- (j) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement.

These duties have been articulated on the basis of our heritage of thought, from times ancient beyond reckoning, of oneness, compassion, objectivity of mind, non-violence and service. Certain values are central to the philosophy in our Constitution.

This university under the guidance of the Revered Chancellor, is an outstanding example of an institution promoting all these values. Young minds may understand and appreciate this when independent effort is made to identify for oneself the principles vital to the harmonious coexistence of people of diverse temperaments, persuasions, activities and goals.

As numerals and their inter-relationships are basic to mathematics, or mass, energy and time are basic to physics, or demand and supply are basic to economics, or ideas and personalities are basic to history, so are values basic to the human being.

The point I am driving at is that values are something which, normally, an individual has to think through for himself, and not something which he can depend on his environment to bestow upon him or others to impose on him. Also, the inner, personal exercise of identifying and determining values, is better undertaken early in life, not postponed to follow life's experiences.

It is a serious matter—this internal examination and determination. It requires solitude, concentration, will-power, objectiv-

ity and logical thinking. It also should draw on the intuitive faculty. One has to master one's mind and turn its razor-sharp knife-edge towards analysing issues, weighing them, postulating them and understanding the subtle relationships that may exist between them. This need not only be an abstract exercise. The effort may, and in fact should, deal with conceivable human situations so as to discern that element which is the determining factor in specific situations. Fathoming and appreciating the underlying form of apparent reality is the key to this exercise.

When an individual has taken the trouble of personally thinking through a clearly defined scale of values for himself, he equips himself intellectually, morally and in operational terms, for performance truly attuned to his highest priorities. Action in big things and small, conscious and involuntary, gains power of perspective, consistency, accurate focus and organised thrust. An integration of personality occurs.

The *Gita* illumines the path to certain ideals and values that may be reflected upon by every student. Verse 18 in Ch. V refers to Equality of all human beings : “पण्डिताः समदर्शिनिः”—“the wise view all equally.” Verses 1,2 and 3 in Ch. XVI enjoin :

अभयं सत्त्व शुद्धिर्ज्ञानयोग व्यवस्थितिः ।
दानं दमश्च यज्ञश्च स्वाध्यायस्तप आर्जनम् । (1)

“Fearlessness, purity of heart,
steadfastness in knowledge and
endeavour, charity, self-restraint,
sacrifice, study of sciences,
austerity and forthrightness”

अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्त्यागः शान्तिरपैशुनम् ।
दया भूतेष्वलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं ह्रीरचापलम् ।। (2)

“Non-violence, truth, avoidance of
anger, serenity, absence of calumny,
compassion, uncovetousness, gentleness,
modesty, absence of fickleness”.

तेजः क्षमा धृतिः शोचमद्रोहो नातिमानिता ।
भवन्ति संपदं दैवीमभिजातस्य भारत ।। (3)

“Energy, mercy, fortitude, purity, absence of hatred and
vanity — these belong to the divine O' Bharata.”

These perceptions come to us from the *Gita* and are intrinsic also to all the great religions : Jainism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Sikhism. Yet, the student could discover these from himself or herself by his or her own powers of thought and intuition, analysis, awareness and comprehension. To my mind such an exercise, accomplished with due objectivity and completeness, leads to the identification of ideals and values established aeons ago in India's ethos. A logical consequence of the establishment, in any individual's psyche, of this scale of values, is a certain purposefulness, dedication and commitment to duty thus illumined in terms of a philosophy of activism : “कार्यमित्येव यत्कर्म नियतं क्रियतेऽर्जुन”—“Perform duty constantly, incessantly, O' Arjun for the sake of duty” (Ch. XVIII. 9)—A philosophy which has even more ancient origins than the *Gita*, this concept of activism has been articulated in the *Isopanishad* and, even earlier, in the *Rig Veda*. But each individual must make his or her own search for the answers to questions identified personally, and equip himself or herself to do so : with the knowledge, insights, capacity of intellect and mindfulness as may consciously be developed.

In this difficult task, the guidance of a Guru can prove to be of immense value. Here in Prasanthi Nilayam the students are indeed very fortunate in having the light of great spirituality from the Revered Chancellor.

My effort has been to touch upon some things I found useful through my own reflection and experience, and which, I sincerely believe, help the individual in diverse environments—as a member of a family, as a student, as a citizen, a teacher, scientist, leader, or one devoted to a deeper and farther search into the mysteries of Life, Death, Existence, Non-existence, of the Absolute and the Ultimate, if any. Knowledge in that realm may be perceived by a faculty of different order—“विमूढा नानुपश्यन्ति पश्यन्ति ज्ञानचक्षुः ।

For guidance towards the Truth, young friends, you have the thoughts, words and deeds of the Revered Chancellor.

In his book '*Vidya Vahini*', the revered Chancellor has said,—I quote : “True education, therefore, is that which directs and counsels the mind and intellect of man towards the earning of *Sathwic* happiness. Of course, it can be secured only by untiring effort. The scriptures declare : ‘Happiness’ cannot be acquired through happiness’ (*Na sukhaath labhyathe sukham*). By undergo-

ing unhappiness alone can happiness be won. This truth has to be instilled through Vidya or education. When man knows of the Ananda that *Sathwic* happiness can confer, the Vidya too will be found easy and palatable.

Having been born as human, all efforts must be directed to acquiring this *Amrtha Vidya* (Education for Immortality) along with earth-bound material-centred Vidya, for it is only *Amrtha Vidya* that can reveal the Atma and enable man to experience the Atmananda.... therefore, do not allow the desire for ostentation to enter the mind; do not allow egotism to approach you. Be humble and be loyal to high ideals. Then only can you serve the cause of world peace and prosperity. 'Sreyaasthe Viswasreyah'. It is only when the individual succeeds in being good that the world too can become good. One who is eager to be a real student must place before himself the ideal of world peace and prosperity. He has to be unpretentious. He must vow to be of service to others. This is the essence of the true education or *Vidya*."

I extend my greetings and felicitations to all the students, members of the faculties and others connected with this renowned and remarkable institution.

I pray that in the life ahead of you, you will carry the same equipoise of mind, determination and constancy in the path of duty and adherence to our time-honoured values, that I see immanent and glowing in you today, and that your individual quests are rewarded by every success and happiness in the days, months and years ahead.

A New East is Emerging

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to associate myself with this function today on the anniversary of the historic Dandi March, led by the Father of our Nation, for laying the foundation stone of the building for the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies and for the inauguration of this Institute.

Laying the foundation-stone of the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Calcutta, 12 March 1993

I should like to express my thanks to the Governor of West Bengal, who is the Chairman of the Executive Council of the Institute, for his kind invitation to me to be with you on this important occasion.

Prof. Nurul Hasan's eminence as an academician, and his experience and insights concerning history and culture, comprise very valuable assets, this Institute is blessed with from inception. It is most appropriate also that the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal have provided substantial and timely support for the establishment of this institution.

To all whose perceptions and coordinated effort account for this initiative and the important cause it seeks to serve, I extend my sincere felicitations and good wishes.

The name of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, adorns this Institute, and in a significant respect defines the tasks before it, and determines the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the benefits that may be expected from the work done here. I understand that studying the social, cultural, political and economic movements in Asia, from the middle of the nineteenth century, with special emphasis on links with India and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's life and work, constitute a key objective of this Institute, and that a primary goal is to promote and strengthen awareness of secular values, the concept of universal fraternity and genuine interdependence for mutual good.

The initial focus of activity : on Central Asia with particular reference to the Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrghyzstan; West Asia — with special reference to Turkey and Iran; Afghanistan and South Asia; and the priority given to developing language skills; comprises, I feel, a practical approach in the early years of the Institute.

In a calibrated manner, by stages, as the Institute grows in terms of range and depth of human resources, equipment, documentation, accommodation, financial reserves, programme momentum and institutional prestige, and with such progress being carefully consolidated, more and more areas of study could be added. Indeed the aggregate scope of work that may eventually be undertaken is as vast and challenging as it is important and necessary.

Friends, seven decades ago, in 1923, Maulana Azad, in his Presidential address at a Special Session of the Indian National

Congress, had spoken of the awakening in the East. He had said: "We are passing through a revolutionary phase... The world is fast heading towards a new era... The boundaries of this world are getting blurred... a new East is emerging."

He was only 35 years of age then, but was recognised by the discerning as a man of wisdom, insights and vision. His brilliance and distinction as a scholar of Islam and comparative religion had been established in his early youth. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had quoted a Persian proverb in application to Maulana Azad : "*Buzurgi-b-aqlast, na b-sal, Tawangari b-dil ast, na b-mal.*" (Greatness proceeds from wisdom, not from age alone, even as generosity does from large-heartedness, not from wealth alone).

Presciently, Maulana Azad had sensed the dynamics of change underway, especially in Asia, and was conscious of the latent power in this continent now beginning to bestir itself and exert a growing influence on world affairs. The post-World War-II dismantlement of structures and systems of overt colonial domination appeared to form one phase in the process of Asian advancement.

Maulana Azad's unflinching leadership during India's struggle for Independence, his prolific writings and speeches, sensitized millions to the cause of human equality and freedom. In 1956, whilst addressing the General Session of the UNESCO, Maulana Azad was moved to say : "Today we share a common brotherhood with free and equal nations which alone can make true international understanding possible. The travails of war have led to the "birth of a new and resurgent Asia." This was also the view earlier expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru during the historic Asian Relations Conference in March 1947. Panditji had said : "There is a new vitality and powerful creative impulse in the peoples of Asia... Out of it will grow something even greater—a world peace based on world freedom and world prosperity." Both leaders saw, in India's composite geo-cultural status, the strength necessary to pioneer movement towards an Asian integration with the transcendent purpose of striving for global peace, prosperity and happiness. Today, in the post-cold war phase in world history this approach is more valid and urgently relevant than ever.

Friends, it needs to be appreciated how well India is endowed, by her cultural heritage and geo-economic position, with enormous advantages in contributing towards this goal. From the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Red Sea to Sri Lanka, the archipelagoes of Indonesia, the

Philippines and Japan, across the Korean Peninsula, China, Mongolia, and the vast Asian hinterland within this space, every Indian can be at any place in Asia and experience a sense of kinship, affinity and identification reciprocated by the local people.

Millenia of cultural osmosis, and assimilation in India, of influence from other Asian peoples, and transference of elements of India's identity accultured outside, account for this. All the great religions, of which Asia is the birth-place, have a position of acceptance and equal respect in our country. And if Islam has more adherents in India than in any country save Indonesia, vast regions and populations in the Asian land mass have received the spiritual and cultural impress of Buddhism from India. The Sanskrit language is a major element linking the linguistic development in countries as distant as the Baltic Republics, Ukraine and Georgia on the one side and in Indonesia, Thailand and Kampuchea on the other. So also is our tradition in Arabic and Persian language and Islamic calligraphic art a powerful bond with West Asia.

Literature, music, art, dance, handicrafts, trade and commerce folk-lore and legend, costume, and cuisine : all these provide a myriad sources of cultural affinity with kindred elements of India's ancient, rich and variegated, heritage. The wealth of ethnicities, religions, languages and cultural mores in India, are, each assets in establishing links with other Asian countries. We have, at the heart of our Indian psyche the spirit of harmonious coexistence and acceptance of all that is noble and good from all sides.

In another important dimension, we have contemporary complementaries. Since Independence, our economy has developed, equipped with the world's second largest resource of trained manpower, and technical and administrative skills that can rank alongside, if not ahead of, the best elsewhere. India's economy is well-organised and poised to cooperate with and participate in economic activity undertaken in other Asian countries in a variety of fields. The minimization of controls on India's industrial and commercial growth in the private sector has further enhanced potential for Asian cooperation.

The rationale forming the basis for SAARC, or ASEAN, or the Gulf Cooperation Council, now merits further amplification. The larger the dimensions of an economy, the greater is the scope for attracting investment, augmenting markets, establishing econo-

mies of scale, enhancing standardization, avoiding multiple tax-incidence, increasing mutual profitability of enterprise and ability for joint ventures in third countries. It appears logical, therefore, to redouble efforts to renew, diversify and magnify our cooperation with other Asian countries, specially : the Central Asian States, Japan and our great neighbour : the People's Republic of China, as well as with other fast advancing Asian countries.

The world stands only to gain from Asian cooperation—not only from the larger and better inter-coordinated markets that can be evolved, but from the Asian approach of discussion, accommodation and cooperation for the good of all. Asia can lead the world towards attaining a high quality of life, utilizing modern science and technology, made meaningful by synthesis with the crystalline purity of ancient values. To achieve all this, the realization amongst all of us in Asia is vital : that the path of understanding, friendship and cooperation leads to prosperity and happiness of all, and equally, that tension and conflict cause harm and suffering to all.

Friends, India's cultural frontiers extend well beyond our political or economic perimeters. The task of enlarging economic cooperation, to the scale of the traditional affinity with nations and peoples of Asia is a matter that should rightly claim the attention of the foremost experts. The Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, has, therefore, a natural academic jurisdiction in this context.

Here in Calcutta, a century and a half ago, some of the most distinguished minds in our country initiated a remarkable period in the cultural and intellectual history of India—recognized as the Indian Renaissance—which gave decisive impetus to the course of our history. More than fifty years ago, at Santiniketan, not far from Calcutta, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore created a profoundly important centre of learning which sought to reach out to different Asian civilizations and strengthen our cultural bonds in tune with shared values. Calcutta was a home to Gurudev as it was to the Maulana.

May the work done in this Institute, which bears Maulana Azad's name,—contribute significantly to India's role in impulsing an Asian Renaissance, and thus, building a better future for all humankind.

With these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Maulana Azad Institute for Asian Studies. I wish all associated with it every success in the months and years ahead.

Scientific Temper Vital for Growth

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you, today, at this function to declare the status of “Deemed University” having been given to the Bengal Engineering College, Howrah. I would like to congratulate the Principal, the teachers and the students of the College, past and present, on this important achievement in the history of this institution. The distinction earned by your college bears eloquent testimony to its creative contributions to the city of Calcutta, to West Bengal and to our great country.

Coming to Calcutta, brings to my mind many reminiscences. The city has cradled our cultural, political and spiritual renewal. In the 19th Century, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was among the first to stress the importance of science and the scientific outlook in overcoming attitudes of superstition and prejudice. Since then, scientific education has grown steadily in West Bengal which has produced some of our most outstanding scientists and scientific institutions. Acharya Jagdish Chandra Bose was one of the first bio-physicists; later international fame came to Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, a Chemist. Dr. C. V. Raman, the first Indian scientist to win the Nobel Prize, conducted his early scientific work from Calcutta. Professor P.C.Mahalanobis, Dr.Satyendranath Bose and Dr.Meghnad Saha have added lustre to scientific research in our country. The names of several other scientists hailing from the State read like a scroll of honour.

The State of West Bengal has today, an impressive concentration of scientific and technological institutions of high standing. The Association for the Cultivation of Science was established as

far back as in 1876. Calcutta University also quickly became an important centre of modern scientific research. In 1905-1906, the National Council of Education was established to build self-reliance in modern technical education in India. Of more recent origin are the Central Glass and Ceramics Research Institute of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Indian Jute Industries Research Association, the Variable Energy Cyclotron Centre of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre and the Satyendranath Bose National Centre for Basic Sciences. With such Centres of Excellence, and so much talent, West Bengal can deservedly be described as one of the pivotal centres for the growth of science and technology in the country.

The Bengal Engineering College, one of our oldest engineering colleges, has been a pioneer in organizing under-graduate studies and in developing post-graduate education and research in engineering. I am happy to note that its disciplines include graduate courses in electronics, computers, tele-communications and town and regional planning, in addition to areas such as civil, electrical, mechanical and metallurgical engineering. The institution can take pride in having produced brilliant engineers who have contributed to nation-building and the development of our technological infrastructure.

The tradition of scientific research and enquiry in India goes to several hundreds of years. Many of the very fundamentals of modern science have their origins in India. The Arabic numerals are called 'Hindsa' in Arabic itself, meaning "from India". The concept of the 'zero' and the decimal system are Indian contributions. We know that learned treatises on Astronomy, Mathematics, Cosmology, Geography, Physiology and Medicine were developed in ancient India. Some six hundred years before Jesus Christ, Sushruta in his *Sushrutasamhita* laid the foundations for modern plastic surgery. At about the same time, Kanada in his '*Vaiseshikasutra*' dwelt at length on the '*Paramanu*' (atom) as an indivisible entity of matter. Almost a thousand years before its acceptance in the West, the great astronomer-mathematician, Aryabhata, had deduced that the earth is round. In the seventh century A.D. Brahmagupta, rightly given the title of Ganakachkrachudamani—the gem of mathematicians—had become the first mathematician to treat algebra and arithmetic as two separate branches of mathematics. And in the tenth century A.C., the renowned chemist, Nagarjuna, in his '*Rasaratnakara*' had completed a detailed study of metallurgy.

There has, thus, been a long tradition of excellence in scientific work in our country. Our scientists and engineers are the natural heirs to this great heritage. Given their calibre, I am sure we can aspire to even higher standards of scientific achievement in our own age and time.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a principal architect of modern India, thought of himself as a 'devotee of science'. It is largely due to his initiative that India now has a strong and diversified industrial base. The Scientific Policy Resolution of the Government of India, a document of the first importance, which can even today be fruitfully read and re-read by every Indian, reflected Panditji's broad vision in the field of scientific research and development. The Scientific Policy Resolution states with compelling clarity :

"It is only through the scientific approach and method and the use of scientific knowledge that reasonable material and cultural amenities and services can be provided for every member of the community, and it is out of recognition of this possibility that the idea of a Welfare State has grown."

In the pursuance of such an approach, we have, over the last few decades, built up a significant scientific infrastructure, and one of the world's largest reservoirs of technically trained manpower. This is a matter of justifiable pride and an achievement which should encourage bold and imaginative initiatives to draw upon our inherent scientific and technical ability for practical tasks of national reconstruction. In today's world, developments in the field of science and technology are taking place at a tremendous speed. New technologies are very soon overtaken by newer technologies. Revolutionary changes are also taking place in production and management systems with a tremendous impact on productivity. Our technologists and scientists have constantly to keep abreast of these developments and ensure that India secures its rightful position in the very forefront in the service of humankind through modern technology. We have to be conscious of the need to use local resources and materials and assimilate new technologies in a manner which is most appropriate for us.

In the final analysis, science and technology must be an effective hand-maiden for improving the quality of life of the common man. An improvement in agricultural tools, for instance, can bring about a qualitative difference in the output of our farmers, just as economical but effective house building technologies can make a difference in the life of our urban poor.

There is a continuing need for us to strengthen our R&D base. The scientific discovery of today is the technology of tomorrow. The organic link between science and technology and industrial and agricultural productivity must always be kept in view. The work of pure science has its own position of importance. Science is essentially a search for knowledge and truth and this search is a continuing one. The more we know, the more there is to know.

Keeping in mind the needs of our country, we have to liberate science from the closed confines of laboratories and provide it full scope in agricultural and industrial application to increase national productivity, create gainful employment, and build a better quality of life for our people.

There is another aspect of the impact which I would like to touch upon briefly. Many of you would be aware that our Constitution also prescribes certain Fundamental Duties for a citizen. Article 51-A (h) states that it shall be the duty of every citizen of India "to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of enquiry and reform". This was an aspect about which Panditji spoke at great length in his speeches and writings. On one occasion, he had said :

"Unless we gradually start to function more and more according to the scientific temper, the advance we make may not be wholly good. Science is not merely training to do a job but training to think in a particular way. That is highly important..."

In the dynamic situation in which we are placed today, the need for scientific temper is becoming ever more evident. We have to inculcate a sense of enlightened objectivity and rise above all that is narrow, parochial and self-seeking. Scientific temper, objectivity, and an outlook of goodwill can guide society to stability, growth and prosperity in an atmosphere of harmony.

I would like to thank the organizers for affording me an opportunity to be present on this occasion. I am confident that the status of "Deemed University" would enable the Bengal Engineering College to emerge as a Centre of Excellence. I extend my best wishes and felicitations to the members of the faculty and the students of the institution on this important achievement. May the College achieve ever greater distinction and laurels in the years and decades to come.

Education Must be Life-building

IT GIVES ME great happiness to be at the Presidency College, Calcutta today. I am particularly glad to find myself in the midst of the alumni of this College—the oldest of the Government colleges in India—which had its beginnings, as the Hindu College., in the early part of the nineteenth century. Your College has rendered excellent service to our country and has produced a resplendent galaxy of eminent daughters and sons of India. On this historic occasion I extend my personal greetings and felicitations to all the members of its vast fraternity, past and present, who have contributed so significantly to the struggle for freedom and have helped enrich the lives of our people through their chosen spheres of endeavour.

A centre of learning which can claim as its own Dr.Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly and the first President of our Republic, can justly be proud of its contribution to the nationalist cause. Speaking here on the 15th January 1955, he had said :

“... Whatever little service, it has been my good fortune to render to our people and our country, it has been the result of what I learnt and studied, imbibed and assimilated here not only from books but also from the lives of all those with whom I came into contact, including not only the masters and professors, but also my classmates and contemporaries...”

Founded by an illustrious generation of reformers in Bengal, the institution was born under an auspicious star. Raja Ramohun Roy, was one of the outstanding personalities associated with its founding.

Debendranath Tagore, father of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Keshab Chandra Sen were in the forefront of social reform. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay wrote the immortal poem ‘Vande Mataram’. Swami Vivekananda awakened the nation and indeed thinking people around the world, with his brilliant spiritualism. 1993 is the centennial year of his address

to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Prafulla Chandra Ray and Jagadish Chandra Bose were incandescent thinkers whose intellects ignited in many the thirst for knowledge and the spirit of service. Romesh Chandra Dutt and Ananda Mohan Bose (India's first wrangler) gave leadership to the Indian National Congress in an early period. The Bengal Literary Society had the association of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore and this led to the foundation of the Rabindra Parishad in 1925.

The quality of instruction in the institution is reflected in the distinction achieved by many others associated with the Presidency College : eminent scientists of the calibre of Meghnad Saha, P.C.Mahalanobis and Satyendra Nath Bose; stalwarts in world of letters, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee; leading economists, Amartya Sen and Sukhamoy Chakraborty; luminaries of the world of art and culture like Satyajit Ray; and distinguished Parliamentarian Shri Hiren Mukherjee; Chief Ministers Shri Jyoti Basu and Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray.

In keeping with the patriotic fervour of the momentous struggle for freedom, the Presidency College blossomed into an important forum of nationalist resurgence and awakening. The students participated actively in the country-wide protest against the Partition of Bengal and enthusiastically joined the Swadeshi movement. In 1920-21, the late Shri Ajoy Mukherjee left the College to organise non-cooperation in the Midnapore district. There were demonstrations and strikes involving a large number of students. I am reminded, in this context, of the stirring words of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in 1922 :

“I vow to thee, my country—
all earthly things above—
Entire and whole and perfect,
the service of my love—
The love that asks no question;
the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar
the dearest and the best;
The love that never falters,
the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.”

Pramod Ghosal, the then General Secretary of the students' union, was among those who raised the electrifying slogan “Go Back, Simon” in 1928. Mr. Fazlul Haq and others were engaged in

political and social work amongst the deprived peasants of the province. A towering figure in our struggle for freedom, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose inspired millions in the patriotic cause. Nirmal Kumar Bose, also of the Presidency College, was with Gandhiji on his mission of peace to Noakhali to restore communal harmony.

At this gathering which is representative of some of our best talent in various professions and vocations, I am tempted to ask a fundamental question. What is the function of education ? We all realize that employment is today an important concern and that the educational system has to equip our young women and men to attain that purpose. But how should we organize a fuller expression of the energies of the youth for constructive purpose ? Swami Vivekananda had proclaimed : "We must have life-building, man-making, character-making education." As one closely associated with the academic world for over four decades, I would say that ethics and morality are of central importance in the education that is imparted in our country. The Education Commission presided over by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan had observed : "If we concentrate only on giving education and neglect the development of the mind and spirit, we shall... have enormous power without any overriding ethical purpose."

Our educational process must be based on the conviction that education is worthwhile if it brings with it an upliftment and reinforcement of the human spirit and the moral fibre of those who seek the advantage of knowledge. We should derive inspiration from the ancient Indian perception : "सा विद्या या विमुक्तये" which recognizes the liberating power of education and is of great relevance in our society, attempting to break free of ignorance and prejudice. We have, therefore, to keep in mind the need for a system of education which will produce citizens not only trained in diverse branches of knowledge, theoretical and practical, but persons of positive outlook, inspired with the spirit of service, women and men of exemplary character; enlightened minds that can withstand, and serve to help others withstand, pressures of any malefic influence as may be exerted on society.

I recall that in an address to a special convocation of the University of Allahabad in December 1947, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had observed :

"... A vast responsibility... rests on our universities and educational institutions and those who guide their destinies. They

have to keep their lights burning and must not stray from the right path even when passion convulses the multitude and blinds many amongst those whose duty is to set an example to others...”

This institution has much to be proud of in terms of achievements over last 175 years, and much, therefore, to live upto. You have to think not only of your rights but also of your obligations. Indeed, if duties and obligations are observed, then rights flow of themselves. As citizens of free India, the students of this College have to play their due role in the building up of this great country and share the advantages of the education and training which their respected teachers have bestowed upon them, with their fellow citizens.

In his Presidential address in 1922, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das had said : “For you is the hope of dawn and the confidence of the morning, and for you is the song that was sung of Titan, the Champion of Man:

“To love, and bear,
to hope till Hope creates.”

The future beckons you—students and professors, the young and the senior alike. Friends, I appeal to you to rise and serve our Motherland with courage and confidence, unbounded love and patriotism, and with absolute faith in her destiny.

Education and Growth

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you for the Platinum Jubilee celebrations of Mysore University.

I thank the Governor of Karnataka, Shri Khurshed Alam Khan, the Chief Minister Shri M.Veerappa Moily and authorities of the University for their kind invitation to me to be with you on this occasion and to associate myself with the construction of the Senate Hall of the University.

I also take pleasure in extending my greetings and good wishes to all connected with this illustrious institution of higher learning and education : members of the academic community, students, teaching and non-teaching staff and the alumni.

It is only natural to have a sense of pride in the status of Mysore University today and its impressive history over the last seventy-five years and more. It would be appropriate to remember the impulse for the growth of the University, provided by Yuvaraja Shri Kanteerava Narasimharaja Woodeyar and by Sir Mokshgundam Visvesvarayya. Their vision, great ability and pioneering leadership comprise an invaluable contribution. Visvesvarayya had said : "Investigate, educate and organize" should be our watch-words if we are to quicken the life-pulse of the people and train them for a larger and fuller life." Over eighty-one years ago, in 1912, he had visualized the role of institutions of higher learning as mechanisms "for developing the intellectual ability and executive power of our citizens... for the country." In these words we can see an approach and attitude towards higher education that policy-makers and educationists may adhere to with advantage.

The growth of Mysore University from 1916 when there were just 593 students in two federated colleges—the Maharaja's College in Mysore and the Central College in Bangalore—to its present dimensions : spanning well over a hundred affiliated colleges and more than a hundred thousand students, establishes an excellent example of fruitful, successful, results based on practical idealism and expertise in educational administration. A succession of able and dedicated men served the University as Vice-Chancellors, including H. V. Nanjundayya, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Prof. N. S. Subba Rao, Dr. K. V. Puttappa, Sir K. M. Pannikar and Dr. K. L. Shrimali. The leading light of Kannada revival, B. M. Srikantayya and Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, were among the Acharyas whose association with the University enriched the intellectual atmosphere of this institution, kindled the spirit of inquiry, imparted training and inspiration to young minds, and opened the eyes of many to essential aspects of the world around them and their own role in making it a better place for others.

Today, Mysore University celebrates all these achievements and I greatly appreciate the manner in which the University has observed its Platinum Jubilee. Ceremonial functions do have a

value of their own. But the University has gone further with more tangible initiatives with a series of lectures by distinguished people connected with Science and Technology, Culture and Philosophy, Economics, Sociology and Politics; seminars and workshops; projects for financial assistance, and capital works. The construction of a Senate Hall for the University should prove an important component of the infrastructure here and I am sure it would serve effectively as a central venue for the deliberations of the authority responsible for overseeing and considering critically important issues of the University growth and operation.

As we look ahead—and occasions like this give us a structured opportunity to take a long-range view—how should we perceive the requirements of the University education in the decades ahead? What are the main strengths that need to be built up? What are the vulnerabilities that need to be safeguarded? How should educationists, the teaching community, students and others contribute? There is no doubt at all that for building a strong economy, a stable, harmonious social atmosphere, wholesome, dynamic, political attitudes, high-quality modern University education must be imparted. The focus on creating an environment for character-building and instilling of moral and ethical values, has to be accompanied by infrastructure for acquisition of expertise and special skills in diverse sectors and subjects of material growth in the life of our nation. Increasingly, we must be alive to the need to have access to and control of the latest increment to knowledge on any subject. Linkages with specialized institutions, leading experts, and upto date equipment need constantly to be developed and nursed. The building of libraries, documentation centres, laboratories and acquisition of equipment must be simultaneous to enlistment of the foremost authorities in various subjects for teaching and guiding research.

This is a very difficult and challenging task—the more so in view of severe limitations on funds available to the University. It is not practicable for universities in our country today to finance themselves only from fees receivable from students. Government can and does contribute, but there are many competitive demands on the exchequer even within the sector of education. We have therefore the problem of an increasing resource requirement for university education, even to keep it at the level and quality already achieved, let alone to cater for expansion or upgradation, and, on the other hand, growing constraints on funds actually available from conventional sources. In what direction then could

a solution be found for the problems facing university finance? A perspective of our national economic growth should provide an outline of the approach that may prove useful in this context. Clearly, the content of university education will have to be compatible with, and indeed, determined by the requirements and the characteristics of our national economy, and if I may say so, of the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of regional and global economy. We shall have to examine the ways in which course curricula, teaching systems and infrastructure can be instituted on the basis of local, regional, national and international demand for expertise in identified fields of activity, and be funded by institutions in need of such expertise and willing to invest resources to secure such expertise. With governmental encouragement and support, universities should move energetically to explore the possibilities for such linkages and to establish and develop these. A well thought out and determined effort needs to be made to connect our industrial, commercial and other establishments with university education and growth. The scope for doing so, particularly in technical areas and in the spheres of Science, research and development, is tremendous. The educationist, the administrator and economic enterprise must combine to make such a breakthrough. This approach has been followed in developed countries. It is the need for our own future now.

Mysore University is very advantageously placed to be amongst the pioneers in this direction. The concentration of the industrial dynamism in Bangalore, the spirit of enterprise in Karnataka, the prestige and high traditions of the University and the quality and resourcefulness of the academic community can combine to show the way to other universities. This is a task which can merit the personal support and initiative of the Chancellor of the University as well as Chief Minister of the State. Success in this respect, in my view, would be of inestimable value to the health and meaningfulness of universities in India and in the context of the true horizons of university education for the youth of our country.

One other aspect comes to mind in this connection and it is this : the cultivation of objectivity of mind amongst our youth, indeed, amongst our people. That is of basic importance, and upon the degree of objectivity developed enormously depends the chance of any worthwhile progress by the people of our country in overcoming our problems. What is objectivity? It is, simply, a rational attitude of mind, unburdened by bias, and the resulting

capacity to understand things as they really are, rather than as they appear, or are made out to be.

Objectivity was recommended by the Buddha who emphasised the importance of individuals using the force of reason before accepting anything as valid. Objectivity in matters of religious belief was advised by our great thinkers. Our saints and sages spoke of the oneness that permeates seemingly diverse human beings. They stressed the oneness of Truth with diverse paths of access to it. An edict of the Hoysala period at Belur refers to divinity as "He, whom the Shaivas worship as Siva, the Vedantins as Brahma, the Buddhists as Buddha, the Nayyayikas, well-versed in the Pramanas as the Karta, the Jains as Arhan, the Mimansakas as Karma, who is none other than Shri Keshava..."

Whether in matters of religion or of day to day life and economic existence, objectivity can safeguard the individual from going astray, from being misled. We should strive for objectivity. In considering any issue of social, political or economic significance, or apparent insignificance, it is essential that individuals and the community apply their own minds and allow the power of reason, exercised personally, to reach proper conclusions. I say this because there are not a few who make it their business to conjure up illusions and stimulate misconceptions to achieve their own strictly finite ends.

Those who are fortunate to partake the university education should consider it their duty to impart to others also the benefits of clear thinking.

On this important occasion, marking the culmination of the Platinum Jubilee celebrations of Mysore University, and the commencement of a new period in the life of this illustrious institution moving into a time of rapid scientific and technological change, competition, challenge and opportunity, I would like to express my implicit faith in your ability to rise and serve our motherland. May the products of Mysore University develop as individuals of such quality and capability as to add lustre to the name of their Alma Mater, their State, their country. May every student passing these portals devote himself or herself to nation-building activity that all may gain peace, prosperity and happiness.

Strengthen Links between Educational Institutions and Industry

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be here for the Convocation of the Hyderabad University. I would like to thank the Chancellor, Shri J. R. D. Tata, and the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. B. Krishnamurthi for their very kind invitation to me to be with you on this important occasion.

The University of Hyderabad has been fortunate in having had as its Chancellors men of great ability and stature who have helped nurture this institution and build it as a model Central University. I remember the keen interest that Shri Justice M. Hidayatullah used to take in every aspect of the growth of this University. Justice Hidayatullah's distinction as a scholar and jurist, his vast experience in public life, enlightened outlook, refinement, and prodigious capacity for work, formed the characteristics of one of the most eminent citizens of our country. I greatly value my own association with him and would like, on this occasion, to pay on behalf of all of us our grateful tributes to his memory.

Hyderabad University now has Shri J.R.D.Tata as the Chancellor and therefore the unique honour of being headed by one whose services to the nation have been recognized with the award of our Republic's highest honour, the Bharat Ratna. The University's having men of such standing at its helm, particularly in its early years, has an important bearing on the way the institution is nurtured, guided and developed to perform its designated role as a Central University.

The report of the Vice Chancellor has provided a perspective view of the progress registered by Hyderabad University. I am happy to see the positive gains secured in terms of student enrolment, enlistment of faculty strengths, introduction of academic programmes, and capital works. The perceptive, innovative and energetic manner in which the infrastructure for this Central

University has steadily materialized, despite financial constraints, deserves appreciation.

The University of Hyderabad Act, 1974, specifies that the objects of the University shall be to disseminate and advance knowledge by providing instructional and research facilities, by the example of its corporate life, and in particular, integrated course in humanities of science, inter-disciplinary studies and research. On going through details of the academic activities pursued, I feel that a good and solid beginning has been made in these respects. The research projects underway, in the various schools of Mathematics, Computer and Information Sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Life Sciences, Humanities and Social Sciences, appear to be designed to secure knowledge as would be relevant to social needs, useful in current approaches to nation building.

I am glad to see that a number of organizations are sponsoring these research projects, including the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Department of Atomic Energy, the Indian Space Research Organization, the Department of Science and Technology, BHEL, UGC, the Indian Council of Medical Research, the Department of Environment and Forests, the Department of Women and Child Development, the Planning Commission, the National Environmental Engineering Research Institute, and private sector bodies.

The quality and cost-effectiveness of research conducted will itself encourage more and more institutions to turn to Hyderabad University for Research and Development activity towards specific operational objectives whether concerning products, processes or phenomena. Hyderabad has a number of major industrial, commercial and scientific undertakings, including the BHEL, HMT, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited and the Nuclear Fuel Complex. There is also a concentration of leading academic institutions including Osmania University, Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University, Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University, the Osmania Medical College, the Indian Institute of Chemical Technology, Telegu University, the Indian Institute of Management, the National Institute of Rural Development, the Indian Institute of Appropriate Technology, the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages and several other prestigious bodies.

The role of Hyderabad University as a Central University is of crucial importance in this context. Hyderabad University can, and should, increasingly develop as a dynamic institution creating,

consolidating, magnifying and diversifying symbiotic, mutually-beneficial, linkages with other organizations and institutes to enhance the qualitative and quantitative features of aggregate growth activity.

This role and responsibility : of leading a drive towards mutually supportive, inter institutional, interdisciplinary, inter-sectoral creativity is an essential aspect of the functions of Hyderabad University as a Central University. In doing so, the University would also be serving the major need of providing courses, programmes and facilities ordinarily beyond the reach of many other institutions in terms of staff and equipment. This, in my view, is a key purpose in the establishment of Central Universities, and Hyderabad University is now increasingly well endowed to work in this direction. In this way the University would contribute to and catalyse a qualitative upgradation of institutional and individual capabilities in the context of modern requirements, and help build a form of corporate intellectual life of much-needed practical relevance.

The process of optimal interaction between the sectors of university education, industry, scientific, and technological establishments, and agencies working in areas of socio-economic growth, will be more efficacious if concerted attention is paid to certain areas. Hyderabad University may be an exception, but broadly speaking, our universities are so structured that scope for the desired nature and extent of interaction is restricted.

Faculties of universities lack practical exposure to industrial, commercial and other economic activity. A purely academic approach to operational problems has to be substituted by specialists with relevant technical experience. A system or mechanism enabling intertransferability of specialized talent between university faculties and operational agencies needs to be developed. There should also be some settled way in which scientists, technologists and managers working in various undertakings can obtain what may be called 'up-linking orientation' in academic institutions. Special course curricula would need to be designed for this.

Essentially, the basis for 'cross-fertilization' has to be organized. Through this method, intersectoral confidence and mutual enrichment would occur more efficiently. Some of our IITs have initiated measures in this direction. Experience gained there needs to be shared and utilized for similar initiatives by other universities.

A conscious effort needs to be made to turn the attention of our industrial establishments towards drawing upon, investing in and building up resources in our universities. More and more industries should associate and involve universities and academic institutions in project identification, formulation, appraisal, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The sharing of costly equipment, the exchange and free flow of faculty, experts, R & D collaboration, joint consultancy initiatives, joint academic programmes—all these should form key elements in connecting university education with national growth.

The time has come when university education in India must be metamorphosed and equipped to fulfil the needs of the national economy in an increasingly competitive global environment. The Central Universities should take the lead in this task. Hyderabad University can, and should be, a pioneer in this direction.

There is a certain urgency to this, calling for a sense of mission on the part of all concerned. Today, India has reached a position from which it is poised for a quantum improvement in aggregate economic status. The primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the national economy have tremendous potential for growth. In terms of trained man power, technical expertise, managerial strengths, material resources and opportunity and scope for progress, India has the wherewithal to move rapidly towards prosperity. We must realize the full implications of this. It places an enormous responsibility on all of us to translate the potential developed thus far into dynamic form.

India is, and will be, as strong and prosperous as we make it. India's genius in diverse areas is proven and part of our heritage. In control of our own destiny, as a people, our creative excellence can express itself in every positive area of growth. We can achieve this by the spirit of harmony, and by cooperating with each other at individual and institutional planes, in a mutually supportive atmosphere, fully perceptive of the resulting ability of every participant being more productive, more effective and successful.

Following this approach our problems would be less difficult to solve and our advantages be magnified manifold. Pooling our strength we enhance its aggregate force. Mutual understanding, determination to try and accommodate each other's views and interests, harmony, maximum cooperation : these must be our watchwords. India's spiritual heritage, our cultural mores, our political values, constitutional framework, and the directions from

our democratic institutions representing the people's will—all these provide ample basis and strength to processes of harmony, cooperation and successful addressal of national tasks.

There will, inevitably, be a few who are prone mainly to see our weaknesses, and deficiencies. There is no question that such problems need realistic appraisal. This is essential. But viewing the aggregate perspective is also essential. And in totality, by any reckoning, India is resurgent and surely placed on the path to progress through harmony and cooperation. Attuned to democratic ideals, we can advance with confidence.

Our being a strong, peaceful, prosperous nation will only be of benefit to others. Other nations and peoples in our region and elsewhere stand only to gain by the forces of democracy and prosperity in India as we are committed to peace and the good of all. सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः, सर्वे सन्तु निरामया—has been our ideal from ancient times. We have looked upon the human race as one.

Students of Hyderabad University have been the recipients of educational impulses in the specially organized environment of a Central University. It is important to remember that knowledge and skills gained in the University have real value only when guided by our time-honoured moral and ethical values. In India's advancement, in the progress of India's masses, the youth of the country have a vital role to perform. Those who have received higher education have a special responsibility. The power of India's youth must mobilize India's masses by exerting the force of the ideals of harmony, unity, cooperation and creativity. During our struggle for freedom, India's youth were in the vanguard of Satyagraha, political activity for awakening the masses, and guiding India's millions to strive for the ideals of freedom and human dignity. Today again, India's youth must see it their duty to spread the message of harmony, democratic outlook and unity in tasks of national reconstruction.

India's youth force must endeavour to safeguard the gains of freedom, to concentrate on nation building activity, tackle the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease, and prevent any deflection of national energy away from key tasks on the national agenda.

Here, in Andhra Pradesh, the heart of India, in a State steeped in our rich heritage of pluralism and oneness, of integrated progress at the spiritual, intellectual and material planes, the

students of Hyderabad University must prove themselves as worthy sons and daughters in the service of their motherland. An opportunity of great importance is open before you. I would like to express my implicit faith in your ability to rise to the needs of the nation, the needs of our culture, the needs of India's future.

Hyderabad University was born in the 'Golden Threshold', the home of Smt. Sarojini Naidu, whose eloquent voice moved millions to patriotic service. Students of Hyderabad University, indeed, the citizens of India, should keep in mind these words sung by the Nightingale of India in a pledge to our Motherland :

"Ne'er shall we fail thee,
forsake thee or falter,
Whose hearts are thy home
and thy shield and thine altar...
Mother, the flame of our hope
shall surround thee !
Mother, the sword of our love
shall defend thee !
Mother, the song of our faith
shall attend thee !
Our deathless devotion and
strength shall avail thee !"

I thank you for inviting me to this Convocation. I extend my greetings and felicitations to all on this auspicious occasion and pray that all who pass the portals of this University may lead a life of fulfilment and gain peace, prosperity and happiness.

The March of Civilizations

I AM GRATEFUL to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation for inviting me to inaugurate this Conference for the Advancement of Human Civilization. It is appropriate that this initiative is dedicated to the memory of a young visionary who, in only a few years at the

world's stage, demonstrated a lucid understanding of global affinities as well as global problems. His heritage in belonging to a nation of unique synthesis in diversity and of a culture and civilization with millennia old values that embraced and did not seek to exclude, enabled him to demonstrate his commitment to the needs of the hour, be it in the Action Plan for a non-violent world, the Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative or the Delhi Declaration.

Man is a product of evolving civilizations. What is in common between different civilizations, in the words of William Von Humbolt is the "tendency which is found throughout the course of history, and which still prevails. . . the urge to overcome boundaries that have been malevolently drawn between men by prejudice and biased opinion of all kinds . . . Firmly rooted in the innermost nature of man, the union of all mankind is one of the great guiding ideas in the history of humanity."

The doctrine of the oneness of humankind and the ideological imperatives of this concept was expressed more than six thousand years ago in the *Rig Veda* which declared: "एकैव मानुषी जातिः" "All humans are of one race." The *Atharva Veda* stressed the idea of human progress on the basis of genuine interdependence, harmony, and a mutually supportive outlook as between people and with regard to the Earth and its ecological environment. The *Yajur Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* articulated the goal of peace in the true sense of the terms:

“द्यौः शान्तिर् अन्तरिक्षं शान्तिः
 पृथिवी शान्तिर् आपः शान्तिर् ओषधयः शान्तिः ।
 वनस्पतयः शान्तिर् विश्वे देवाः शान्तिर् ब्रह्म शान्तिः
 सर्वं शान्तिः शान्तिर् एव शान्तिः
 सा मा शान्तिर् एधि” ॥

(Y. 36.17, also A. 19.9)

“Peace in the infinite cosmos, Peace in the stratosphere enveloping our planet, Peace on earth, Peace in the ocean regions, Peace on all living, growing things, Peace on all enlightened beings; May universal peace prevail.”

In 1929, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the outstanding statesman and world leader, (then in his 40th year), had said; “There is talk of world peace and pacts have been signed by the nations of the world. But despite pacts armaments grow and beautiful

language is the only homage that is paid to the goddess of peace. Peace can only come when the causes of war are removed."

Consistently he expressed the concept of One World and strove to reduce tensions and enlarge understanding. Indeed, under Pandit Nehru's leadership, in the emerging moments of India's freedom on August 14-15, 1947, the nation, through all members of the Constituent Assembly took a solemn pledge to make a "full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind." This commitment was made by every member, individually, from every political party.

Such was the approach courageously and steadfastly followed by Smt. Indira Gandhi. At Stockholm, in 1972, she had said : "One cannot be truly human and civilized unless one looks upon not only all fellow-men but all creation with the eyes of a friend." Thus she reiterated the thought expressed in the *Yajur Veda* many thousands of years ago: "मित्रस्य चक्षुषा समीक्षामहे" "May we look upon all with the eyes of a friend." Addressing the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on 28th September, 1983, in the year before her martyrdom, she had said; "The earth belongs to us all. Let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man." "No peace today, no life tomorrow", she had warned.

The advancement of human civilization must encompass, therefore, the elimination of divisive forces which malevolently keep humankind apart. The negative forces are both objective and subjective. Objective factors which impede the march of civilization and stand in the way of the unity of mankind are injustice and exploitation in all their morbid manifestations, and are all too well known to an impatient world. Fear, prejudice and intolerance are no less potent dangers to the future of our planet. These blight the flowering of man's legitimate endeavours and aspirations.

Civilizations are not static. Their essential ingredients are people and ideas, each influencing the other, and both evolve and advance. To value a static point is to toll its knell. In the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, "many great civilizations seemed in their day to be permanent and now the wind blows through their halls and stirs the dust of forgotten cities." This is undoubtedly true, as he said, "due to the outbursts of folly and fury, brutality and violence, the fatal grimness of man to man", and, I would suggest, due to complacency or inability to focus on the present and the future. Among others, we in India are proud inheritors of a great

civilization that values the outlook of welcoming positive influences from all sides and drawing sustenance from our ancient heritage.

How did the young man, whose vision and leadership we commemorate in this meeting, view the world around him? The persons closest to him, his wife, Smt. Sonia Gandhi, had written: "Rajiv felt strongly that India's ethos of non-violence and tolerance would benefit the world in its quest for peace and justice. He carried his country's message to international meetings where critical issues were debated: the global environment, disarmament, a just economic order, removal of racial barriers"— issues which are touchstones to measure the relevance and survivability of our civilization. That Rajiv Gandhi, amidst myriad responsibilities as the Prime Minister of India would concentrate on issues, the solutions to which were crucial to the values of civilized existence, showed an introspective and perceptive mind concerned with the profound dilemmas affecting the human condition.

In the recent past, humankind has taken one step back from self-annihilation. Many more such steps are required to safeguard humankind from destruction, and give strength to the motor forces of civilization. In a world compressed by knowledge, we need to add the leaven of understanding. The words of the poet, "ask not for whom the bell tolls, for it tolls for thee" acquire fresh meaning and significance. We cannot, even if we so willed, remain indifferent to people around us nor shrink from the task of advancing human civilization as a whole to greater unity, greater heights of achievement.

In April 1941, at a time when the world was at war, I had expressed in an editorial some thoughts which have stayed with me over more than five decades and come to mind today : "We are not so great optimists as to hold that this period of transition may at any moment end in Utopia. Nor are we with the pessimists who hold that the times are irrecoverably out of joint. We hold that the present order of the world can be set right with human effort...

We are not to leave the world to go its own way for it may be heading towards a crisis which may not allow us to recover for centuries to come. We will make the world move so as to reach the goal of happiness for the whole of humanity without any distinction of race, class or creed...The world has to be reorganized to ensure an ever-enduring Peace. But this reorganization, if it is to

be at all effectual must be led by an Intellectual Renaissance. This renaissance consists in a better understanding of human institutions and human relationships, and a revaluation of past creeds and ideals... We have set for ourselves this goal... which is the only guarantee of an abiding Peace. Only time will show how far we will be able to achieve this... for the whole world."

To this end, I have no doubt, your thoughts and concepts would make a significant contribution. Your deliberations, reflecting an international luminance of knowledge, understanding and wisdom, could show the way through the maze that may lie ahead.

It gives me great pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, in inaugurating the Rajiv Gandhi initiative for the Advancement of Human Civilization.

Foster Intellectual Exchanges

I AM DEEPLY touched by the honour you have shown me in recognizing my achievements in the intellectual field. I accept this honour with pleasure and a sense of humility and recognise that it is equally a recognition on your part of the intellectual tradition of India and its emerging significance to the world today. This ancient tradition, is concerned with an unceasing search for truth, peace, oneness and the good of all. Our *Vedas*, our other ancient texts and our philosophical heritage all have reflected this endeavour which demands the dedicated contribution of one and all.

In the history of India in the modern period, our leaders have built upon this tradition and have exemplified its values. Mahatma Gandhi's life and martyrdom is a profound message to all humankind. The outstanding thinker and statesman, Jawaharlal Nehru committed himself to securing the true well-being and happiness not only of the Indian people but of all humankind.

Conferment of the Doctorate Honoris Causa by the Kiev State University, Ukraine, 14 July 1993

Education and the cultivation of the right attitude of mind, was considered vital by Pandit Nehru. He often spoke of the harmonious synthesis that could be gained by utilizing science and scientific temper for tasks of progress in consonance with key elements of humanism. He said :

“Intense cultivation of science on a large scale has not only radically altered man’s material environment, but what is of deeper significance, it has provided new tools of thought and has extended man’s mental horizon. It has thus influenced the basic values of life and given to civilization a new vitality and a new dynamism.”

I believe that the intellectual and spiritual heritage of India belongs to all humankind. I therefore regard the honour bestowed on me as an expression of respect for certain values that are at the core of the Indian ethos, values which are indeed central to the collective existence of all humanity.

Kiev University has a history of intellectual achievements and academic brilliance over a century and a half. This University has been an important institution for the expression of and the building of friendship between our two countries. We recall with pleasure that Kiev University had earlier conferred an *honoris causa* degree on Smt. Indira Gandhi during her visit in 1982. Its openness to foreign students, including those from India, is widely appreciated.

Interest in Indian philosophy and Indian thought has been well established in Ukraine. The writings of Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka reflect the close study of the ancient Indian texts, including the *Vedas*, *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. There is a noteworthy passage from Ivan Franko where he talks about the influence of Indian culture and philosophy beyond its borders :

“We must note the great influence that India had on neighbouring people, from the point of view of the evolution of religion and literature. It is clear that to study Indian literature without taking into account its influence on the great number of currents it started, in China, Tibet, Mongolia, Persia, Arabia, Hither Asia and Beyond to Europe and areas under its spiritual influence is like studying a tree only by examining its roots and trunk, without considering its branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits.”

The cross fertilization of ideas that have taken place between India and virtually every part of the world has left its impact on Ukraine as well. The task before all of us is to build upon these intellectual exchanges and to find a solution to the problems that we face today. The cold war has ended, and there are new opportunities as well as challenges. We, as founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, have always stood for one world, a world based on peace, cooperation and friendship. More than ever now, it is critically necessary that we all strive to build a better world recognizing the equality of nations, and the importance of mutual respect and genuine interdependence between all peoples and nations.

Countries like India and Ukraine have an important role to play in contributing to the creation of a more equitable world order, and I welcome closer contacts between our social scientists to harness their intellectual energies to this challenging task. We must also take note of the emergence of new nations following the end of the cold war. India was among the first to recognise the independence of Ukraine and we are following with sympathy, your efforts at creating a more democratic pluralistic society. The democratic outlook and the democratic process provides the key to the prosperity and success of multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-lingual States.

Not everybody, however, appears persuaded by the virtues of the democratic outlook, mutual accommodation and faith in non-violence. The manifestation of ethnic, pseudo-religious and parochial extremism is one of the most disturbing phenomena in the post-cold war period. Most States in the world today are necessarily multi-ethnic, even multi-racial. This is as it should be in the late 20th century when technology and economic progress have made it so much easier for people to travel from country to country. The interactions between people of different backgrounds and regions have always produced favourable results. We, therefore, stand resolutely for continuing free interactions among all the people of the world. Extremism has no place in this world order, and countries like India and Ukraine can be powerful forces for moderation; secularism and humanism. To ignore the lessons of history at this juncture would be to put at risk all the benefits we could expect after the end of the cold war. Intellectuals in particular have a very important role to play in this regard and I look to this distinguished gathering to pick up the gauntlet.

The world is also undergoing an economic and scientific revolution. The growth of scientific information and its application to individual and societal needs has been stupendous in the last decade. My country is keen to partake of this revolution which is taking place and is preparing to participate more fully in the global economy. We have liberalised our economic policies, allowing easier trading conditions, more liberal investment procedures and giving more responsibility to enterprise in the country.

While the nature of the challenges it faces are quite different, we are aware that Ukraine is also embarked upon the process of economic reforms. In your case, the process of economic reforms coincides with the setting up of a new independent State. Each process is challenging enough by itself. Nonetheless, I am confident that your talented and industrious people will successfully surmount every problem in the path to peace, progress and happiness.

We wish you success in your efforts and are ready to extend whatever cooperation we can. India is in a position now to supply not only traditional consumer goods which are well known in Ukraine, but also sophisticated equipment and services which, I believe, can be usefully applied to Ukraine's economic needs. Enlarging the scope of our bilateral, mutually beneficial cooperation would be the best way of building Indo-Ukrainian friendship.

The India that is known here is largely the India of antiquity and fables. But, with our ancient culture and tradition, we seek to harmonise the most positive aspects of science, technology and economics. Efforts should be undertaken by Indian social scientists studying socio-economic transformation to understand the dynamics of change in this major country in the heart of Europe. We, in India, would welcome greater academic interaction with Ukraine and it would give me personal pleasure to see the fruits of such exchanges.

In closing, I cannot but express my great pleasure at having had this opportunity of visiting this beautiful city and for the friendliness and hospitality which has been extended to me, members of my family and to my delegation. We will carry away with us pleasant memories of the spontaneous affection and warmth which we have received and look forward sincerely to welcoming our Ukrainian friends to India.

Peace, Friendship and International Cooperation

MAY I SAY how very touched I am by the honour done to me, the generous hospitality, and the many kindnesses. Almost five decades ago I had come to Cambridge. Britain appeared at that time in a transitional stage as between two epochs in her history; so for that matter did India. It was a chance remark to me by Jawaharlal Nehru about exhilarating atmosphere of this ancient and renowned University, that had induced my own association and bond with Cambridge. I was then working on my thesis on "The Interpretation of Legislative Powers under the Government of India Act, 1935". Many years have passed, and one has journeyed much since, but I remember, vividly, the brilliance and attraction of the great minds I interacted with, and the life one led as a part of the academic community in Cambridge.

I value immensely the Degree of Doctor of Laws, *Honoris Causa*, conferred upon me at the Special Congregation today, and cannot thank you enough for all the trouble you have taken for my visit and the memorable and moving ceremony this morning. I should like to express my gratitude specially towards the Chancellor of the University, the Vice Chancellor and the other authorities, for this very thoughtful and gracious gesture, regarded by me and in India, as of special importance.

To my mind, the honour that I have had the privilege to accept, symbolises the qualitative enhancement taking place in the friendship between India and Britain. Perhaps more than ever before, there is realisation that the values that India and Britain share, and cherish, are values significant for the well being and the happiness of nations and peoples around the world. There is realisation that India and Britain, could cooperate more closely in diverse endeavours, for mutual benefit, and the good of all. There is realisation, that at a time when, again, the world appears in a phase of transition between two distinct periods of history, the tremendous fund of goodwill, friendship and commonality of interest between us is a powerful factor serving the cause of democracy, world peace and progress.

Conferment of honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Cambridge, U.K., 24 July 1993

India has always stood for these values. Democracy, the Rule of Law, the spirit of pluralism and the approach of friendship and cooperation represent core elements of India's nationhood. As a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, since Independence particularly, India has been striving, despite many countervailing factors imposed on us, to build a better quality of life for her people, to strengthen the cause of peace in the region and in the world, and to make her own contribution for the good of all humankind.

The democratic process, indeed the democratic way of life, has been central to our effort. It is the approach of a people who zealously guard freedom and the dignity of the individual, of a nation labouring to transcend poverty, backwardness and disease, and working in this age of science for progress consistent with the best elements of our cultural and spiritual heritage.

Consistently, India has upheld the cause of peace, democracy and friendship. The histories of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives stand testimony to this. With other neighbours too, our approach has been to extend the hand of friendship and cooperation, always seeking for peaceful solutions to any outstanding problem.

In India's march to modernity, we have been guided by the philosophy and the outlook of our great national leaders. We have drawn upon the vast human resources of the Indian people, their talents and genius. The advances registered in the spheres of industry and agriculture and in the secondary and tertiary sectors of our economy have prepared the ground for new initiatives towards growth with social justice. In this process we are greatly appreciative of and thankful for the assistance rendered from time to time by Her Majesty's Government and by many other social, voluntary, cultural and educational organizations and institutions in the United Kingdom.

I have referred to the progress India has registered in different sectors of the economy, but more important is India's success in building democratic institutions, and in consolidating and developing the outlook of pluralism, humanism and friendship within Indian society as also with regard to the nations and peoples around us.

Certain forces outside, motivated by the outlook of intolerance and fundamentalism, in deadly nexus with terrorism and the narcotics trade have tried to undermine India's ethos. But these

forces have failed and will continue to fail. India has repeatedly emerged triumphant. My country's ethos of synthesis and harmony has prevailed and shall prevail.

The future, I feel, would make greater demands of both our countries. Identifying tasks of mutual interest for safeguarding the cause of democracy, of peace, and of orderly progress towards a better world will claim greater attention. India's advancement needs to be understood as progress by a nation devoted to peace. It would be sad and erroneous if the growth of India as a strong, modern and prosperous nation is viewed with misgivings. We are committed to peaceful progress. In the very emerging moments of India's Independence, on August 14, 1947, Nehru had said : "... We have to labour and to work... to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams... are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples... Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments." This remains a central guiding principle in the national endeavours of my country.

In our two countries, the academic communities, the universities and specialised institutions can do much by cooperating with each other to widen the ambit of understanding, friendship and cooperation between India and Britain for the goals that we are committed to.

May all of you in Cambridge, a university which has done so much for the Indo-British partnership, lead the way in further strengthening the historic bonds of friendship between India and Britain.

Literacy for Human Advancement

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to participate in the inaugural celebrations of the 27th International Literacy Day. My happiness is greater because of my associations with this function for the third consecutive year. I thank the Ministry of Human Resource

Development for their invitation to me and would like to express my sincere appreciation of the dedicated efforts of the voluntary and government agencies who are connected with the Literacy Movement in different parts of the world.

I offer my warm felicitations to Reverend Mother Teresa who is the recipient of the UNESCO Prize for Peace Education for 1992. She has touched the hearts and minds of millions of people across the globe. Her noble life has been entirely dedicated to serving the poor and the downtrodden. In honouring Mother Teresa, we honour the spirit of love and compassion that transcends territorial boundaries and considerations of citizenship and nationality.

I also extend my congratulations to the winners of the UNESCO 1993 International Literacy Prizes. We are happy that the UNESCO NOMA Prize has been won by the Indian National Federation of UNESCO Clubs and Associations and that the International Jury has accorded Honourable Mention of the NOMA Prize to the Bhavnagar Zila Saksharta Samiti in recognition of their committed work in the cause of spreading literacy. I hope that their achievements will serve as a source of inspiration to the other organizations and bodies which are engaged in this challenging task.

I welcome the representatives of the Sabenta National Institute of Swaziland and the Illiteracy Eradication and Adult Education Project, Jordan who have also won the UNESCO's literacy awards for their meritorious contributions. My congratulations to all the winners.

Friends, as you know, the International Literacy Day is observed every year on September 8 to evaluate the implementation of literacy programmes and mobilise public involvement in the fight against illiteracy. On this day, we reiterate our resolve to eliminate illiteracy by utilizing the potential of our abundant human resources for the betterment of mankind and facilitate the full flowering of the human personality.

This year's theme for the observance of the International Literacy Day—"Literacy and National Integration"—is most relevant in the present conditions. National Integration really constitutes a feeling of oneness and solidarity among the people regardless of dissimilarities. This feeling is the true foundation of the strength and prosperity of a nation. In this context, the role of the

literacy movement for strengthening the forces of national integration is extremely significant.

Literacy is an indispensable component of human resource development and an essential element for national progress, for in addition to the ability to read and write, the spread of literacy is expected to signify the opening of new vistas of knowledge and add to the power of communication, thus binding the human race together in harmony and brotherhood.

Over the years, while we have made progress towards reducing illiteracy, much remains to be done in this direction. The rate of growth of population and the drop-out rate at the primary stage of education have been cited as being primarily responsible for the alarming level of illiteracy in our country. As part of a comprehensive Plan of Action for the formulation and execution of literacy expansion programmes, it would appear advisable to take up schemes directed at large-scale adult literacy after ensuring a steady supply of post-literacy and follow-up materials. A Plan of Action which unites the Centre and the States, the local bodies, the voluntary organizations and individual workers in an all-embracing national effort cannot but succeed in the attainment of its objectives. If more and more of our children can receive school education in the current decade, it will be possible to ensure that they are literate adults in the next century who will be able to make definite contributions in various sectors of national reconstruction.

While considering the strategies to be adopted for the eradication of illiteracy in India, I feel it is important to bear in mind, the reach of Television and Radio which has grown very significantly following the advances made in both hardware and software technology. We have now to tap the advantages accruing from the latest developments in the media for disseminating more effectively the message of Universal Literacy.

I am glad to know that over two hundred districts in the country have adopted the Total Literacy Campaign and concerted efforts are in hand to impart to this programme the content and character of a people's movement by harnessing local initiative and the resources of the available agencies. Literacy and the general awareness that it brings about will need to be developed as potent instruments for socio-economic development. It is through these programmes of mass uplift that the processes of change can be

accelerated towards a meaningful fulfilment of the democratic ideals enshrined in our Constitution.

In India, our concern with literacy dates back to very early times when the importance of education was well recognized. More recently, Subramania Bharati, an outstanding Tamil poet who fought for the country's freedom, espoused the cause of mass literacy and free education to the poor. In his well-known poem *Viduthalai* (Liberation), he says :

“Let us educate ourselves thoroughly, become wise in this land,
No one shall be poor
No one shall be a slave
In India there is no one who is low born,
Everybody will attain learning
And happily shall we get together and live as equals.”

Friends, it was the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, who put forth the demand for universalisation of primary education before the Indian Commission on Education in 1882. Gopal Krishna Gokhale made an impassioned appeal for universal education in the Imperial Legislative Council. Bapu accorded the highest importance to the eradication of illiteracy and Panditji, as our first Prime Minister, spoke to scientists and educationists in the following terms :

“Some people seem to think education is not so important as putting up a factory. I may sacrifice any number of factories, but I will not sacrifice human beings and their education, because it is the human being who sets up factories and produces the things we want.”

In working for the spread of literacy in our country, let us try to recapture the spirit of the India of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru who wrestled with the problems of social and economic change and were able to transcend difficulties. Let us together make India great as it is destined to be.

It is heartening to note that large numbers of our young men and women are becoming involved in the literacy and other related programmes. The process of mass participation is sometimes arduous and calls for special initiatives, popular enthusiasm and optimism. We have great faith in the capacity of the people of India. In the ultimate analysis, the success of our literacy programmes will depend on the involvement of the people. All

sections of society have to invest their time, energy and resources for the success of the mission to fight illiteracy.

The attainment of Universal Literacy is equally a great challenge which can be met with the requisite political resolution and the combined involvement of the Member States of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations. Public opinion will need to be mobilized and harnessed on a larger scale and resources made available to combat illiteracy. I am happy to know that distinguished educationists will meet, today, at the Consultative Forum on Education for All as a prelude to promoting education in the nine most populous countries where three out of every four illiterate adults live. I wish them success in their deliberations.

In wishing godspeed to the efforts of all those who are engaged in the noble task of promoting literacy, may I conclude in the words of Swami Vivekananda :

“The only service to be done for our people is to give them education to develop their individuality. They are to be given ideas and their eyes are to be opened to what is going on around them and they will work out their salvation.”

With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the 27th International Literacy Day Celebration.

Law, Truth and Welfare

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to associate myself with the First Convocation of the National Law School of India University. I thank the authorities in the University for their kind invitation to me to be with you on this important occasion.

The National Law School of India University represents a very carefully considered initiative on the part of eminent members of our judiciary and the Bar as well as various State Governments, towards the organization of this new institution

designed to impart meaningful legal education and enhance standards of legal research and professional training.

I am glad to see the systematic manner in which the National Law School of India University (NLSIU) has been developed in terms of the various branches of its curriculum, building of faculty strengths, the innovative approaches towards effective teaching with its emphasis on maximum teacher-student interaction, practical exposure to legal mechanisms, and the value-based interdisciplinary approach towards learning, understanding and application of law. I would like to congratulate the authorities of the University and all others for their effort in putting this unique institution on a sound footing in such a short period of time.

This Convocation marks the entrance of the first batch of graduates from the National Law School of India University into the legal fraternity in our country. I have pleasure in extending to them my greetings and felicitations. The students of the first generation, in this institution have special importance. The progress and performance of each student will, in a way, reflect the efficacy and social value of the instruction imparted in the NLSIU.

Friends, “धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः” : is the motto of this University and this brings to mind the immensely profound heritage of thought concerning Law that belongs to us. Philosophies, doctrines, concepts and perceptions of great refinement enrich the corpus of legal thinking in our country. Ideas bearing a perennial relevance have been expressed with remarkable precision from the earliest times. Dharma is a word that has entered the lexicon of the English language. Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary gives the following meaning : ‘dharma’ : n [Skt. fr. dharayati he holds;], akin to L firmus firm : custom or law regarded as duty : the basic principles of cosmic or individual existence : Nature : conformity to one’s duty and nature. The Concise Oxford Dictionary has it as : Right behaviour, virtue; the Law [Skt. - a decree, custom]. The *Rig Veda* refers to the existence of *Sanat Dharmani* or ancient ordinances. Considering the antiquity of the *Rig Veda* itself as humankind’s earliest literature, one may only conjecture as to the even greater antiquity of these ordinances which even the thinkers in the period of the *Rig Veda* considered ancient. The concept of ‘Dharma’ has therefore been with us from time immemorial. What does dharma mean? The word is clearly derived from the root ‘Dh.r’ which denotes : ‘upholding’, ‘supporting’, ‘nourishing’, and ‘sustaining’.

“धारयति इति धर्मः”— that which upholds is Dharma. In the Karna Parva of the *Mahabharata* Verse 58 in Chapter 69 says :

धारणाद् धर्मामित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।

यत् स्याद् धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

“Dharma is for the stability of society, the maintenance of social order and the general well-being and progress of humankind. Whatever conduces to the fulfilment of these objects is dharma; that is definite.”

The *Brihadaranyakopanisad* identified Dharma with Truth, and declared its supreme status :

“स नैव व्यभवत्तच्छे यो रूपमत्यसृजत धर्मं तदेतत्क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं
यद्धर्मस्तस्माद्धर्मात्पर नास्ति । अथो अबलीयान्वलीयांसमाशंसते
धर्मेण यथा राज्ञा । एवं यो व स धर्मः सत्यं वै तत् तस्मात्सत्यं
वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदतीति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदतीत्येतद्ध्येवैतदुभयं भवति ।”

“There is nothing higher than Dharma. Even a very weak man hopes to prevail over a very strong man on the strength of Dharma, just as (he prevails over a wrong-doer) with the help of the King. So what is called Dharma is really Truth. Therefore, people say about a man who declares the truth that he is declaring Dharma and about one who declares Dharma they say he speaks the truth. These two (Dharma and Truth) are this.”

A similar thought is expressed in the Ayodhya-kanda of the *Valmiki Ramayana* in Verse 10, Sarga 109

“सत्यमेवानृशंसं च,

राजवृत्तं सनातनम् ।

तरमात्सत्यात्मकं राज्यं

सत्ये लोकः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥”

“From the ancient times the constitutional system depends on the foundation of Truth and social sympathy. Truth is the fundamental basis of the state; indeed the whole universe rests on Truth”

The *Rig Veda* states that the Law and Truth are eternal—born of sacrifice and sublimation

“ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात् तपसोऽध्यजायत ।”

—*Rig Veda* X-190-1

The *Niti Vakyamrit* begins with the statement:

“अथ धर्मार्थं फलाय राज्याय नमः ।”

The *Yajnavalkya Smriti* states :

“श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
सम्यक्मङ्कल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥”

“The Sruti, the Smriti, the approved usages, that which is agreeable to one’s inmost self or good conscience, and has sprung from due deliberation, are ordained as the foundation of Dharma.”

Chanakya had stated : “धर्मेण धारयते लोकः” - (Chanakya Sutram 234) “Law and Morality sustain the world.”

The *Vaisesikasutra* defines Dharma : as “that from which results true happiness”

“अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यासामः ।
यतोभ्युदयनिः श्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ॥”

The *Bhagwad Gita* refers to:

“स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः ॥”

Focussing on aspects of Dharma in the *Arthashastra*, Kautilya has indicated it “as the basis for securing and preserving power over the earth.”

“तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति ॥”

The essential aspect of our ancient thought concerning Law was the clear recognition of the supremacy of Dharma and the clear articulation of the status of ‘Dharma’, somewhat in terms of the modern concept of the Rule of Law, i.e. of all being sustained and regulated by it.

The *Mahabharata* has expressed this with great clarity: In the Shanti Parva, Verse-3(1), Chapter 90 says:

“धर्मायराजा भवतु न कामकरणायतु ॥”

“The proper function of the King is the maintenance of the law, not enjoying the luxuries of life.”

It then reiterates :

“तस्माद्धि राजाशार्दूल धर्मः श्रेष्ठतरः स्मृतः ॥”

Shanti Parva, Verse-20, Ch.90

“Law only is supreme, so the king who regulates society in fulfilment of the law discharges his functions appropriately.”

In the Ashrama Vasika Parva of the *Mahabharata*, Dhritrashtra states to Yudhisthira :

“तत्रु शक्यं महाराज रक्षितुं पाण्डुनन्दन ।
राज्यं धर्मेण कौन्तेय विद्वानसि निबोधत ॥”

“The state can only be preserved by Dharma—under the Rule of Law.”

These perceptions of the Rule of Law were echoed by ancient thinkers in the West. Aristotle stated that “the true relation between Law and Government is secured by making the law sovereign and the Government its servant.” Plato reiterated this in the “The Laws”, and Cicero said : “There exists a supreme and permanent law, to which all human order, if it is to have any truth or validity, must conform.”

The comment of Sir Edward Coke on the House of Lords' Amendment to the Petition of Rights in 1628 comes to mind: “Magna Carta” is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign!”

Later, many thinkers including Augustine, Austin, Fortesque and others further developed this view point.

The Rule of Law in our ancient thought was strictly co-related with the purpose of securing social well being. Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* has said :

“प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राजः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥”

—Kautilya, *Arthasastra*, 1 - 9 - 39

“In the happiness of his populace is the king's happiness, in their welfare, his own. His good is not that which pleases him, but that which pleases his people”.

The *Markandeya Purana* expresses the purpose of Dharma as:

सर्वलोकप्रियो नित्यमुवाचैदहर्निशम् ।
नन्दन्तु सर्व भूतानि स्निघन्तु विजनेष्वपि ॥
स्वस्त्यस्तु सर्वभूतेषु निरातंकानि सन्तु च ।
मा व्याधिरतु भूतानामाधयोन भवन्तु च ॥
मैत्रीमशेषभूतानि तुष्यन्तु सकले जने ।
शिवमस्तु द्विजातीनां प्रीतिरस्तु परस्परम् ॥

(Ch. 188, Verse 12 - 17)

“That all persons may be happy, may express each other’s happiness, that there may be welfare of all, all being free from fear and disease; cherish good feelings and sense of brotherhood, unity and friendship.”

It is this stress on the identification of Dharma with Truth and social well-being, Duty and Service that impelled Yudhishthira to express his own ambition, as Dharmaraja, in the words :

“न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं न पुनर्भवम् ।
कामये दुःख तप्तानां प्राणिनां आर्तनाशनम् ॥”

“I seek no kingdoms nor heavenly pleasure nor personal salvation, since to relieve humanity from its manifold pains and distresses is the supreme objective of mankind.”

It is in this context that the phrase धर्म विजय ‘Victory of Dharma’ could be understood, as employed by the Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka, in his rock edict at Kalsi which proclaimed his achievement in terms of the moral and ethical imperatives of Dharma, and exemplified the ancient dictum: “यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः”—“Where there is Law, there is Victory.”

The ancient juristic thinkers who laid down the detailed laws of procedure in judicial matters : Brahaspati, Yagnavalkya, Narada and a galaxy of other brilliant minds made contributions in this connection. Narada declared the four stages in relation to a case in terms of the connection of the case to the whole system of the law, the bearing of the specific law onto facts of the case, the identification of specific remedies and the essence of adjudication. He speaks of different kinds of proof, of the laws of evidence, examination of witnesses, restraints that may be placed on defendants. (These correspond with such modern processes as attachment or arrest before judgement and temporary injunction). Narada also classified the decrees a court may make, the make-up of a judicial mind, the psychology of a plaintiff, *et al.* Narada refers to the four types of answers that a defendant may put after a plaintiff has submitted his claim or charge. These included a denial, a confession, a special plea or a plea of previous judgment (the last corresponding to the concept of Precedent in modern jurisprudence).

The *Katyavan Smriti* represents a high point of ancient Indian jurisprudence. Among other matters it refers to the four stages of legal proceedings: The plaint (पूर्व पक्ष), the reply (उत्तर), the

stage of deliberation as to burden of proof (पृत्य कलित), and of adducing of proof (क्रियापद). He refers to the method of consideration of the evidence by the court and the declaration of the judgement and order. The Law of Evidence similarly was developed, attention being paid to the quality and character of documents and witnesses for determining the evidentiary value. The specialized nature of the work involved in making a cogent presentation of case, including assemblage of precedents, interpretation of law and rules, and utilization of various available devices to secure justice, makes it clear that such matters were handled by experts who had made the study of law their special profession.

I have recalled aspects of this great heritage that belongs to all of us, not with a view to our looking back for the sake of glory, but towards drawing lessons and guidance with a view to the future. It is noteworthy that the wisdom of the ancients, the doctrines and concepts of jurisprudence, the system of laws, the rules and procedural features, could succeed only so long as the essential purpose of Dharma and the determination to uphold Dharma was maintained in the country. Not just law or doctrine, or philosophy but a climate of public opinion and resolution to uphold law, is necessary if the benefits of the Rule of Law are to accrue to society. That is why the statement *Dharmo Rakshati Rakshitah* which occurs in the fifteenth verse of the eighth chapter of the *Manu Smriti*, and which is the motto of your University, is so meaningful and relevant; "*Dharmo Rakshati Rakshitah*": "who shelters and defends the law, the law defends and shelters."

Distortions and deficiencies in public outlook, beliefs, and way of life accounted for the decay and demolition of our ancient systems of jurisprudence.

A pragmatic political thinker such a Kautilya, with his accent on expediency and material advantage had declared,

“आत्मवत् सर्वभूतेषु यः पश्यति स पण्डितः।”

In his *Chanakya Shastra* : “He who sees all beings as one may be deemed learned.” A cardinal principle, regarding the strength of the State being derived from a sense of oneness amongst its people, was thus recognized and stated by that expert practitioner in the art of governance. But what had happened in our country? The sense of oneness had been ruined and, contrary to Dharma and the laws, its place was taken by all manner of differentiation of the people in moribund, weakening divisions of castes and sub-

castes, complicated social prejudices, unjust subordination, greedy exploitation, inhuman regimens. The sum of all these was the obscuring of the pristine purity and strength of basic dictates of our ancient culture, and our eventual reduction into bondage.

Following centuries of decline and eclipse of indigenous legal structures and traditions, a stage had been reached in our country which is well reflected by a comment by Lord Macaulay during the Second Reading of the Charter Bill, later enacted as the Charter Act, 1833. Macaulay had said; "I believe that no country ever stood so much in need of a code of law as India, and I believe also that there never was a country in which the want might so easily be supplied."

With British rule came British laws and jurisprudence and the association with the Anglo-Saxon constitutional tradition stemming from the Magna Carta of 1215 and Roman concepts, axioms, and doctrines. To our good fortune, some of these reiterated certain principles innate to our own tradition. Of the essence of this stream of thinking was the concept of Equality before the Law. Sir Ivor Jennings had referred to this as follows: "Equality before the law means that among equals law should be equal and should be equally administered, that like should be treated alike."

The Magna Carta provided the leading ideas for constitutional governance. It ensured security of the person and decreed that no man may be deprived of his established privileges without a lawful judgement or otherwise than according to law.

Lord Bryce drew comparisons between the adoption of many branches of English law as the law in force in India, and the manner in which Roman law had become the law of countries within the Roman empire.

W.S.Holdsworth later commented : "We may expect to see that the needs of India may produce modifications in English rules of law which, with the help of technical reasoning of the common law, will produce new development of common law principles." Indeed for over a hundred years it is precisely this that happened.

In the modern period our great national leaders, most of whom were trained in law, naturally strove to build in India a polity sustained by law in which the rights of the human being, the role of the State and imperatives of India's special socio-cultural and economic characteristics could properly be addressed. The importance of our struggle for freedom may be better appre-

ciated in the historical perspective of the struggle for human rights. In 1895, the Swaraj Bill referred to various rights of the individual among which were specially : Right to Freedom of Speech and Expression, Right to Equality and the Right to Vote. Following the Montague-Chelmsford Report, the Indian National Congress demanded that the Government of India Act should embody provisions relating to human rights. Later, in 1927, the Congress at its Madras Session resolved that the Constitution of India must contain a declaration of fundamental human rights. The Motilal Nehru Committee in 1928 expressed the continued importance attached by the Indian people to fundamental rights. At the session of the Indian National Congress at Karachi on March 29, 1931, the famous resolution on fundamental rights was adopted—having been moved by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. This resolution was moved so that the masses might appreciate the goals of freedom. It was also stated that any Constitution that might be adopted should include provisions for fundamental rights. The fundamental rights were listed and included the following:

- 1—
 - (i) Freedom of association and combination;
 - (ii) Freedom of speech and press;
 - (iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality;
 - (iv) No disability to attach to any person of religion, caste or creed in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling;
 - (v) Equal rights and obligations of all citizens. No civic bar on account of sex;
 - (vi) Equal rights to all citizens of access to and use of public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort.
- 2— Religious neutrality on the part of the State.
- 3— A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.
- 4— Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.

- 5— Protection of women workers, and specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.
- 6— Prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories.
- 7— Adult suffrage.
- 8— Free primary education.

In moving the resolution on fundamental rights, Mahatma Gandhi also referred to the right to protection of the culture, language and scripts of the minority, abolition of all disabilities attaching to women in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, human rights in an industrial society and avoidance of sectarian prejudice by the State.

(Later, in 1944-45, the Tej Bahadur Sapru Committee reiterated the commitment of Congress and the people of India for enshrinement of human rights in our Constitution.)

The spontaneity and wide public acceptance with which such thinking concerning human rights was appreciated and adopted by the leading political figures of our country and by the masses, was a powerful factor in ensuring that the Constitution when it came into being, based itself on an emphatic articulation of essential human rights, and the Rule of Law.

Indeed the Constitution of India gave expression to certain concepts which have been part and parcel of our great national heritage of thought and wisdom that belongs not just to people of India but to all humanity. It is not surprising therefore that Professor Barker in his treatise on the "Principles of Political and Social Theory" reproduced the Preamble of our Constitution in his book saying that it seemed to him "to state in brief and pithy form the argument of much of this book; and it may accordingly serve as a keynote. I am all the more moved to quote it as I am proud that the people of India should begin their independent life by subscribing to the principles of a political tradition which we in the West call Western but which is now something more than Western."

The Preamble to the Constitution encapsulates the ideals and aspirations of the people of India. The solemn words of the declaration in the Preamble in our Constitution record the resolve of the people to constitute India into a Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens : Justice, Liberty and Equality;

and to promote amongst them all Fraternity. The fundamental rights guaranteed in Part-III of the Constitution confer certain justiciable socio-economic rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Part-IV of the Constitution lay down the socio-economic goals which the State must strive to attain. As Granville Austine has observed in his book "The Indian Constitution : Cornerstone of a nation", : "The Indian Constitution is first and foremost a social document. The majority of its provisions are either directly aimed at furthering the goals of the social revolution or attempt to foster this revolution by establishing the conditions necessary for its achievement. Yet despite the permeation of the entire Constitution by the aim of national renaissance, the core of the commitment to the social revolution lies in Parts III and IV, in the Fundamental Rights and in the Directive Principles of State Policy. These are the conscience of the Constitution."

The Constitution places the pursuit of a 'welfare state', before the country. It has struck a balance between the rights and privileges of the citizen and the power of the state to impose restraints on the exercise and enjoyment of those rights in the interest of good Government and welfare of the State as a whole. It provides for corrective justice. The Constitution-makers led by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, had thus viewed, and rightly so, law as an instrument for social change.

Law is not a static body of rules but rather a living creature, continually forged and shaped to serve the needs of a community that itself is constantly changing. Adaptability, therefore, is truly a condition sine-qua-non of the continued existence of a legal system. Law synthesises change and stability. The relation between Law and social change is reciprocal. As Justice Holmes has said : "The life of Law has not been logic; it has been experience." The felt necessities of the time ... have ... good deal more to do ... in determining the rules by which man should be governed."

That is why Jawaharlal Nehru while speaking on the Draft Constitution on November 8, 1948 had said : "The Constitution if it is out of touch with the people's life, aims and aspirations becomes rather empty; ... a Constitution should ... be flexible."

Later in May 1951 he had said : "A Constitution to be living must be growing; must be adaptable; must be flexible; must be changeable ... Therefore, it is desirable and a good thing for people to realise that this very fine Constitution that we have fashioned

after years of labour, is good in so far as it goes but as society changes, as conditions change we amend it in the proper way. It is not like the unalterable law of Medes and Persians that it cannot be changed, although the world around may change."

This approach corresponds perfectly with the incisive and telling comment of Thomas Jefferson that : "Each generation has a right to determine the law under which it lives; the earth belongs in usufruct to the living."

Law must therefore be a 'variable constant'. Law does not exist in a vacuum. It must remain ahead of socio-economic and political needs. The horizons of law are expanding with the growth of modern approaches in a variety of spheres. There are many stimuli for change when the objective is the building of a welfare state. There is therefore a constant requirement of the spirit of enquiry and reform, with a view to maintaining integrity between the law and real social needs.

The great law teacher, Dean Roscoe Pound had stated the philosophy of Functional Jurisprudence which views law as an instrument of social change. W.Friedmann in his "Law in a Changing Society" has quoted Roscoe Pound as follows : "the sociological method consists in study of a legal system functionally, as a social instrument, as a part of social control, and study of its institutions, doctrines and precepts with respect to the social ends to be served. It presupposes that law is a specialized agency of social control... While jurists have been at these tasks, a new social order has been building which makes new demands and presses upon the legal order with a multitude of unsatisfied desires. Once more we must build rather than merely improve; we must create rather than merely order and systematise and logically reconcile details ... legal history is the record of a continually wider recognising and satisfying of human wants or claims or desires through social control; a more embracing and more effective securing of social interests; a continually more complete and effective elimination of waste and precluding friction in human enjoyment of the goods of existence — in short, a continually more efficacious social engineering."

There is also the neo-realistic theory propounded by Lewellyn and Jerome Frank which treats with the propensity towards 'emotional hunch'—related to the instinctive preferences arising from personal background and experience Subjective consider-

ations come into play and affect the way issues are perceived. The path of Justice has to be kept clear of such hindrances. It has always to be borne in mind that Law really subsists on the basis of objective appreciation of Truth and Social Good.

All this places a tremendous demand on legal practitioners. There has to be a clear recognition of the connection between Law, Truth and welfare. These are inseparable. These are not simply ideals or goals of altruistic endeavour. Within the larger concept of Dharma as outlined earlier, Law, Truth and human well-being form a composite of practical value to society and to every individual.

The new entrants into the legal profession will find that Law is a hard task master. Meticulous application of mind is necessary towards gathering Truth from the mass of data before one, sifting the grain from the chaff as it were, mastering relevant case law and organising a cogent, comprehensive, truthful, persuasive, and polished presentation of the case. Glossing over inconvenient facts or tutoring witnesses will not do. It helps in establishing oneself when one gains a reputation for upright adherence to the Truth, the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth.

An unshakeable commitment to Truth, the needs of justice, and to duty is not just altruistic. Such an approach is representative of practical wisdom. Indeed a reputation for truthfulness will help the practitioner of law in his legal profession as well as in other dimensions of his entire life. The word of such a person always carries more weight with judges. Sharpness of mind and width and strength of intellect have their own utility, but right behaviour and a reputation for fidelity with Truth have perhaps an even greater value. A sense of Service must rule and regulate the total approach of the advocate. Only then would he properly perform his rightful and appropriate duty under the aegis of Dharma. Always it would be important for the practitioner of law to bear in mind the ancient dictum from the *Mahabharata* :

“न धर्मफलमाप्नोति यो धर्मं दोग्धुमिच्छति ।।”

(verse 6, Chapter 31) “The person desiring to milch the Law cannot derive the real benefit of Law.”

I am reminded of the opinion expressed by Sir Grimwood Mears, Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court about Pandit Motilal Nehru. According to Mears, Motilal Nehru's position and distinction as a lawyer was due to “a profusion of gift; knowledge came

easily to him, and as an advocate he had the art of presenting his case in its most attractive form. Every fact fell into its proper place in the narration of the story and was emphasized in just the right degree. He had an exquisite public speaking voice and a charm of manner which made it a pleasure to listen to him."

These are some of the characteristics that young advocate could cultivate with advantage, to establish himself or herself in the complex and challenging domain of law.

Friends, I would like to mention with emphasis that the linkage between axioms of law and values and resolves that individuals hold in their hearts and minds, comprises a crucial internal element in an organised society. It is this element which reflects how abstract ideas determine the actual lives of the people. Members of the legal fraternity therefore have a position of far-reaching significance in the task of national reconstruction and the building of a better future for all. Judges and lawyers have a key role in properly and expeditiously responding to social needs and converting political will into legal form and tissue, of interpreting laws appropriately and in the human interest, as was said of Solon: "Whose sturdy shield protected every party. And gave to none an unfair victory."

I feel certain that the specialised environment that has been created in the National Law School of India University, and the instruction received here has equipped you to win laurels for your Alma Mater by the service that you render to the people attuned to our time-honoured concepts of Dharma and the Truth.

Let me conclude with some words from the 'Shikshawali' in the *Taitiraiya Upanishad*, which has for ages strengthened our centres of education and contains invaluable advice to students passing out from an institute of learning :

Satyam Vada : Dharmam Chara;
Swadhyayanmaa Pramadaha:
Satyaa Na Pramaditavyam : Dharmaa Na Pramaditavyam:
Kusalaa Na Pramaditavyam : Bhutyai Na Pramaditavyam:
Swadhyaya Pravachanaabhyaam Na Pramaditavyam:
Aevamupasitavyam Aevamuchaitadupaasyam"

"Forever speak the truth, follow the dharma,
Strive constantly towards true learning and progress,
Forever on the righteous way to welfare,
Teach the world as diligently as you learn :

Behave this way every day, Life-long, conducting yourself thus be creative and ascendant.”

I would like to thank you once again for your kind invitation to be with you at this function. I have expressed a few of the thoughts that were in my mind and which, based on my experience, I felt may be useful to the young people here as they set out in their own lives, and to members of the Bench and of the Bar. Each should do what appeals to his or her own reason and good conscience and do so fearlessly, with faith in oneself and the nation, and so serve to build a new India, a better world.

A Vibrant Symbol of Learning

I FEEL EXTREMELY happy in being here on this important occasion of the Convocation of Gujarat Vidyapeeth, the illustrious institution which Bapu established on the 18th October, 1920. Also, on this very day in 1901, Bapu had embarked on his journey to India from South Africa. By his work and actions which constitute an outstanding example for the entire country to emulate, he won us our political freedom. The Vidyapeeth's Foundation Day—18th October—is, therefore, one of great historical significance.

Bapu's association with the Vidyapeeth spanned many years. Great personalities like Kasturba Gandhi, Acharya Narendra Dev, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Zakir Sahib, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pandit Nehru have all been connected with the Vidyapeeth in various capacities. I am naturally, rather overwhelmed by my own association with an institution of such eminence and standing.

Whenever an opportunity has come to me to be in Gujarat, I have tried to visit your State which is a vibrant symbol of a great thought process that has for long been a fountain head of inspiration for all Indians. This land has given birth to many renowned

saints and men of distinction and learning. Dwarka—linked to the holy memory of Lord Krishna—is one of our four Dhams. The first Jain Tirthankar, Rishabdev, pronounced his discourse on *Shatrunjay Giri* on this soil. The three major *Kalyanak*—*Mahabhinishkraman*, *Kewal Gyan* and *Nirvan*—of the 22nd Tirthankar, Neminathji (Worldly Renunciation, Spiritual Knowledge and Liberation of Soul from the bondage of body) were performed in Girnar. Literateurs such as Magh, grammarians like Hemendracharya and the devotional songs of Narsi Mehta have brought honour and glory for your noble traditions to which, in later years, a unique contribution was made by Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

The Iron Man of India—Sardar Patel—also hailed from Gujarat. Sardar stood rock-like behind the Father of the Nation throughout the long years of our freedom struggle in which countless men and women, inspired beyond measure by Bapu's stirring call, gave their all to the nationalist cause.

When I think of Gujarat, my mind is invariably crowded with memories of such luminous personalities. Their rainbow-like radiance pulsates the mind and heart. I am, therefore, grateful to be afforded the opportunity through your very thoughtful invitation of visiting the Vidyapeeth today.

At the outset, may I offer my congratulations to all those students to whom degrees are being awarded at this Convocation. I am confident that as good and useful citizens of our great country, they will make many a positive contribution towards helping to build the India of Bapu's dreams.

When Bapu founded the Vidyapeeth some 73 years ago, he looked upon this work as a sacred mission. On that occasion in the beginning of his invocation, he had said :

“... I have done many great things for which I am proud. There are some things for which I repent. Most of them were tasks of great responsibility. But let me say without exaggeration that I have not done anything which can be compared with today's work ...”

Bapu's message was clearly indicative of the great importance which he attached to the spread of education in the country. He was, at the same time, placing a special responsibility on the shoulders of the teachers and students of the Vidyapeeth in terms of the contributions expected of them in the manifold tasks of nation building.

The motto of the Vidyapeeth—‘Sa Vidya Ya Vimuktaye’— can be regarded as constituting the focal point of our culture and thought as also of Bapu’s mission and philosophy of life. In this motto, the word ‘Vimukt’ has an all-embracing connotation and signifies that real education is one that provides liberation from all manner of darkness and bondage. This was Bapu’s teaching. The message embodied in his life and work strengthens our resolve to secure freedom from inhibiting factors. He stood for such spiritual development as would enable every individual to rise to his full potential and work for national development, dismantling the shackles of ignorance, poverty, disease and exploitation. He inspired us to reject all narrowness of caste, religion and region and direct our energies to the liberation of mankind.

While India’s freedom was won under Bapu’s leadership, his concept of ‘Swaraj’ was not limited to political freedom alone. We have, in this context, to recognize that the fulfilment of Bapu’s vision of a resurgent India involves sustained and continuous effort in which our educational institutions have a pivotal role to play. A great responsibility rests on those leaving their portals to begin a life of service to their country and to society. In the ‘Young India’ of the 9th June, 1927, Bapu wrote :

“Students have to become nation-builders ... fearlessly ridding society of the innumerable abuses that have crept into it ... Students have to react upon the dumb millions. They have to think not in terms of a province or a town or a class or a caste but in terms of a continent and of the millions...”

Through his thoughts and actions, Bapu focussed the attention of his countrymen and women on the wider perspectives of humanism and equality. He had, at this very institution, cautioned the students on the 8th August, 1924, saying :

“Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, and Jews, all are your brothers. If you do not ascribe to this faith and are not ready to practise it, you may as well leave this institution.”

I am happy to learn that the educational institutions of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth have conveyed the teaching of equality of all religions to their students. There are arrangements here for taking up studies in Buddhism. An edict of the great Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka, at Girnar has for centuries given us the message of compassion and harmony and guided generations on the path of ethical and moral rectitude.

I am indeed glad to be able to announce today that the Vidyapeeth have instituted, from the current academic year, an International Jaina Educational Centre which marks a further step in its academic development. I have great pleasure in declaring open, on this occasion, the new Educational Centre and in extending my good wishes for its future growth and utility.

The concept of love and non-violence propounded by Bapu are at the heart of the teachings of Jainism. The 22nd Tirthankar, Neminathji, who attained salvation at the Girnar Hill, once addressed the seekers of Truth assembled before him in the following words:

“We should exhibit a friendly spirit towards all living beings, joyous feelings towards noble souls, compassion towards the suffering humanity and equanimity towards the cruel.”

A study of Jainism reveals that it provides twelve *vratas* on practices for the spiritual development of its monks. Of these, five are related to ‘Anuvrata’, three to ‘Gunavrata’ and four to ‘Shikshavrata’. The five Anuvratas are - Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya, Swadar Santosh and Parigraha-Pariman, namely non-violence, truth, refrain from stealing, loyalty towards wife and the avoidance of monetary greed. The three ‘Gunavratas’ are Digavrata, Upbhoga-Pariman Vrata and Ananthadanda Virman Vrata while the four Shikshavratas are Samayik, Deshvakashik, Proshdhopvas and Atithi Samvibhag. Even as Bapu’s Ekadash Vratas have reflections of each of these, the ‘Anuvrata’ is found in its entirety in Bapu’s Ekadash Vrata in which the practices expounded are Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya, Brahmacharya, Asangrah, Shareersham, Aswad, Sarvatra Bhayavarjanam, Sarvadharm-Samanatava, Swadeshi, Sparsh Bhavna, *hein Ekadash Sevavein Namratve Vratanishchaya*.

Satya, Ahimsa, Aparigraha, Asteya, Shrama, Nirbheekta, Sarvadharm-Samanatava, Swadeshi Chetna and Asparshta Samapti are regarded as the focal point of Bapu’s constructive programmes. He not only recited this prayer but also translated it into action and placed it before the world as a practical creed. Bapu’s *vratas* reflect the sublime will-power of the “Nishkam Karma Yogi”, the inculcation of whose qualities of total dedication to a worthy cause have to be a major objective of our educational system. In his Autobiography —*My Experiments with Truth*, Bapu wrote:

“I had always given the first place to the culture of the heart or the building of character. . . I regarded character building as the proper foundation for . . . education and if the foundation was firmly laid, I was sure that children could learn all the other things themselves or with the assistance of friends.”

The Jaina *vratas* aim at the spiritual development of individuals through improvement in their conduct and are equally present in Bapu's *Ekadash vratas*. His concept of the spirit of *Swadeshi* encompassed the fight against poverty and deprivation in our villages by providing gainful employment. The ‘Charkha’ and ‘Khadi’ became unique symbols of our agriculturally-oriented, labour-intensive village economy whose development, in the real sense, depends on the growth of small-scale industry, local handicrafts and the provision of job opportunities for artisans and workers. A socio-economic system which is based on such a foundation would also effectively meet the new challenges posed by the emerging global scenario.

I am happy to know that the Gujarat Vidyapeeth has concentrated on imparting education which is related to village development and is providing teaching facilities in village management, village economy and labour-based community programmes. The Vidyapeeth is also running Rural Service Centres and is engaged in the work of the National Literacy Mission. I trust that each one of us who is associated with the Vidyapeeth will continue to work ever more vigorously in this direction. We would do well to recall, in this context, the expression of his views on the country's independence by Bapu in the *Young India* of the 10th September, 1925 :

“I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilized for the benefit of mankind.”

I have placed these thoughts before you in the hope and belief that the younger generation may more fully understand and appreciate their duties and responsibilities to the nation through the contemporary relevance of Bapu's message. I should like to especially stress to you that the spirit of Karma must be devoid of expectation of reward. You have all to discharge your duties as would a “*nishkam yogi*”. It would also be to your own good if you

were not to aspire for reward because then, there will be no regret or disappointment. Your own satisfaction in the sincere performance of your duty would be your best reward.

May I remind you that rendering service to others has been the quintessence of all religions. Our scriptures say:

“Sarva Shastrapuranesu Vyasasya Vachanam Dhruvam,
Paropkarastu Punyaya Papaya, Parpeednama.”

In all Scriptures and *Puranas*, the saying of Vyasa is like the eternal truth : “Service to humanity is its own virtue and causing pain to others is a sin.”

Bapu emphasized the importance of service to one’s fellow beings in “Health Guide”:

“Remember that man is a representative of God to serve all that lives and thus to express God’s dignity and love. Let service be your sole joy and you will need no other enjoyment in life.”

I trust that the people of our country, particularly the student community, will imbibe Bapu’s spirit in thought, word and deed and bring credit to India. I once again offer my warm greetings to all of you and wish the Gujarat Vidyapeeth a glorious future.

Goodwill Towards All

I CONSIDER IT a great good fortune to be at this sacred place on such an important occasion. I would like to extend to all of you present here, and to every member of the Jain community, my greetings and good wishes.

Shravanabelagola is famous throughout the world. The colossal statue of Gomateshwar is a wonder of sculptural art, symbolism and engineering. It represents the hoary antiquity of, as well as the permanent relevance of, Jaina tradition, doctrine and perspectives. For over a thousand years, Gomateshwar has inspired, and will continue to inspire, generation after generation; and enhance awareness of Jain philosophy, religion and culture.

Inauguration of Mahamastakabhishek ceremony of Lord Gomateshwar Bahubali, Shravanabelagola, 2 December 1993

Today, in close proximity with Bhagwan Bahubali, it is natural that the composition 'Gommatesa-Thudi' should come to mind. This hymn in Sauraseni Prakrit was composed ten centuries ago by the great Jain saint, philosopher and poet, Acharya Nemichandra Siddhanta Chakravarti—the preceptor of Chamundaraya, who, as we know was the builder of the immense image of Bahubali. It is recorded that the Gommatesa-Thudi was composed and sung soon after the grand Pratisthapana Mahotsava—the consecration ceremony—of Bahubali followed by the very first Mahamastakabhishek, in 981 AD—one thousand and twelve years ago. We have assembled here to participate in the celebrations leading up to the Mahamastakabhishek of Gomateshwar. What could be more appropriate at this inaugural ceremony than that I should cite to you the eight verses of that ancient and sublime invocation describing the manifestation of Gomateshwar:

[1]

विसट्ट कंदोट्ट - दलाणुयारं
सलोयणं चंद-समाण-तुंडं ।
घोणाजियं चंपय-पुप्फसोहं
तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

[2]

अच्छाय-सच्छं जलकंत-गंडं
आबाहु-दोलंत-सुकण्ण-पासं ।
गइंद-सुंडुज्जल-बाहुदंडं
तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

[3]

सुकंठ-साहा जिय-दिव्य-संखं
हिमालयुद्दाम-विसाल-कंधं ।
सुपेक्खणिज्जायल-सुट्ठुमज्झं
तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

[4]

विज्ञायलगे पविभासमाणं
सिहामणिं सब्ब-सुवेदियाणं ।
तिलोय-संतोसय-पुण्णचंदं
तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

[5]

लया-समक्कंत-महासरीं
 भव्वावली-लद्ध-सुकप्पसूखं ।
 देविंदविंदच्चिय-पायपोम्मं
 तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

[6]

दियंवरो जो ण य भीइजुत्तो
 ण चांवरे सत्तमणो विसुद्धो ।
 सप्पादि-जंतुप्फुसिदो ण कंपो
 तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

[7]

आसं ण जो पेक्खदि सच्छदिट्ठ
 सोक्खे ण वंछा हयदोसमूलं ।
 विराय-भावं भरहे विसल्लं
 तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

[8]

उपाहि-मुत्तं धण-धाम-वज्जिय
 सुसम्म-जुत्तं मय-मोह-हारयं ।
 वस्सेय-पज्जंतमुववासजुत्तं
 तं गोम्मटेसं पणमामि णिच्चं ॥

The direct, literal meaning of this poem evokes an appreciative awareness of the majesty and beauty of the image of Bahubali. The deeper meaning is in terms of the purity and perfection attained at the ultimate stage of spiritual advancement. According to Jaina concepts and perceptions, that stage is reached when the human being totally transcends the linkages, pulls and pressures of worldly existence and achieves absolute liberation.

It is this stage of conquest and victory that comprises, implicitly, a cardinal goal of Jainism. It is noteworthy that the word Jain is derived from the word *Jina*, the root sound of which is *ji* - denoting ascendance, victory and supremacy. Such is the purpose of the tremendous and profound heritage of thought coming to us as the produce of Jaina thinkers and searchers of Truth. There is a need today for greater acquaintance with the understanding of the remarkable range, quality and quantity of this intellectual treasure which, though originating in a very

ancient period, has a modern relevance : alike for individual human beings and the future human condition.

The use of logic in progressing from the known to the unknown, drawing on techniques of analysis, definition, deduction, exposition and dialectical extension, comprises a major element in the stream of Jaina thought and knowledge. The scientific nature of these initiatives by Jain thinkers is reflected in the precision and clarity of inferences drawn from studies in a wide variety of subjects. Many of these subjects engross the attention of modern scientists, theoretical physicists, mathematicians and cosmologists.

The great scholars of Jaina intellectual tradition present here today are aware of many such dimensions of Jainology. But few others would be familiar with the material evidence of ancient Jain researches into the concepts of matter, time, space and energy. There is an ocean of literature on these subjects. The *Tattvartha Sutra*, by the Jaina sage Umaswami — himself a disciple of Acharya Kundakunda provides a fascinating glimpse of the sheer quality of Jaina intellectual output.

रूपिणः पुगृदत्ता : In two words of this Sutra a definition is provided of matter : “ that which has form constitutes matter” अणवः स्कन्धाश्चः “Atoms and molecules comprise matter. A startling insight is available in the Sutra : स्यौल्यसंस्थान भेदतमऽछायाऽतपोधोतवन्तश्च ।

“Sound, magnetism, inert energy, gravity, lightning, heat, radiation, light of different ranges, are also matter”! भेद संधातेभ्य उत्पद्यन्ते: “Molecules are formed by division and union of component particles.” भेदादणुः “ The atom is isolated by fission.” तद्भावाव्यय नित्यम्: “Matter is permanent, (indestructible) though its form may change.” These are some of the observations, culled from innumerable others, concerning Jain perceptions of matter.

Similarly, the ancient Jain thinkers conceived time in remarkably scientific terms. सोऽनन्तसमयः “Consisting of an infinite succession of instants.” वर्तनापरिणामक्रियाः परत्वापरत्वे च कालस्यः “Time provides a standard to measure rate of change, in substances and conditions.”

Regarding space, it was observed आकाशस्यानन्ताः “The units of space are infinite; within space are infinite points.” निष्क्रियाणि चः “Space provides the medium for motion and rest, but is itself inactive.” These are but shining particles of the vast and radiant

landscape of Jaina intellectualism. Cosmology, astronomy, earth sciences, mathematics, physics, botany and plant sciences, chemistry, meteorology and metallurgy, are but a few of the immense range of fields of knowledge that engaged the attention of brilliant and perceptive minds in the history of Jainism.

I have mentioned this because it is necessary to understand that such a high level of intellectualism was instrumental in conceptualizing and developing the ideas and principles of Jain philosophical doctrine, religion and precepts. *Ahimsa*, *Aparigraha*, *Asteya*, *Satya*, *Brahmacharya*; the outlook innate to *Syadvad*, *Anekantvad* and *Samyakdrishti*, may be better comprehended in this perspective. The regimens and inner disciplinary techniques for concentration, development and utilization of the mind may more fully be understood and appreciated in this context.

“हिंसाऽनुत्तस्तेयाब्रह्मपरिग्रहेभ्यो विरतिव्रतम्” was the five-fold vow prescribed, each vow being strengthened by five observances. We are aware of these as essential to the Jaina way. It remains to each, individually, to apply reason towards the proper fulfilment of the integrated purpose of these vows in today's reality.

The five observations prescribed towards ahimsa are particularly noteworthy. In the *Sarvarthasiddhi* — a classic treatise by the Jaina sage Srimat Pujiyapadacharya, self-control : of thought, of speech, of physical movement, of induced movement or placement of other objects, and of consumption, are stipulated : “वान्मानोगुप्तीर्यादान निक्षेपण समित्यालोकितपान भोजनानि पंच”।

Ahimsa does not mean only avoidance of physical violence or injury. It is a larger concept requiring avoidance of hurt even to the feelings of others. Mahatma Gandhi, the very apostle of Ahimsa had explained this in simple and beautiful words : “Complete non-violence is complete absence of ill-will... Non-violence in its active form is therefore good-will towards all ...” Ahimsa, a central tenet of Jainism is the perennial need of every individual, our nation, and all humankind. The ascendance of ahimsa in our personal and national life will yield a shower of boons. We must strive for this. And we must draw upon the Jain insights and realize that to build non-violence in the full sense, the effort must begin within each individual with self-responsible awareness and self-control of thought, word and action. Ahimsa has been, and must be India's dharma. Ahimsa is, and must be India's message to the world. Ahimsa enjoins the right to equality because the

greatest violence is that of exploitation and imposed poverty. Ahimsa in India's ethos, India's national atmosphere, Ahimsa in the life of every hamlet, village, town, city and region, even family and individual, is the palliative to our ills; the source of our strength in the task of national reconstruction, and in the endeavour to build, progress, prosperity and happiness for all. Let us bear in mind the Jaina perception : "हिंसादिष्विहामुतापायावद्यदर्शन" "The consequences of violence are unending calamity and misery." Let us ever remember the Jaina precept : "मैत्रिप्रमोद कारुण्यमाध्यस्यानि" : "Abound goodwill towards all fellow living beings."

An associated thought has been within me, and I feel I must express it here as I speak in Shravanabelagola. It concerns an attitude of non-violence by humans towards other living creatures, and the avoidance of killing animals and birds and fish to partake of their flesh as food. I am a votary of vegetarianism, and do declare that the ancient precepts of Jainism abjuring the eating of flesh are supported by modern medical research which has detected diverse ailments and illnesses resulting from consuming non-vegetarian food. Increasingly, more and more people in different advanced countries of the world are turning away from animal foods on considerations of health. We would do well to choose not to consume flesh and to avoid the killing of animals and other living things.

Friends, here near the feet of Gomateshwara, through the centuries past, innumerable Jaina arhats have undertaken penance and austerities into Sallekhana. Rigorous, unswerving self-discipline and meditation into ultimate sublimation has been practised here. Inscriptions on stone, copper-plate records and manuscripts bear witness to the profound history and sanctity of Shravanabelagola. A great number of records in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit exist in this region and document the vast store-house of Jainological knowledge, and the life-work of countless Jaina thinkers on a wide spectrum of subjects mentioned by me earlier. A large proportion of this literature is in Prakrit language. In fact, the bulk of Prakrit literature concerns Jainology and involves the writings of Jain scholars, *munis* and *shramanas*. Prakrit language was a preferred medium for over fifteen centuries — more than twice the period that Pali was used. Manuscripts and records in Prakrit are to be found in most parts of our country. These reflect the close connection between Prakrit and the development of most Indian languages including Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada,

Bengali and Telugu. Considerable work has been done in our country to catalogue, preserve, publish, translate and interpret Pali language texts. But Prakrit literature has yet to receive the required degree of attention in recent years. It is important to remember that the sermons of Mahavir were in Prakrit, and the first attempts to consolidate these were made in the Pataliputra Council in the 4th century BC. This work was eventually completed almost nine centuries later in the Valabhi Council in the 5th century AD under the supervision of Devardhi. Thereafter for almost sixteen centuries scholars of Jainism in different parts of the country have read and interpreted the Valabhi texts and a gigantic task of consolidation, cataloguing, analysis and publication remains.

Prakrit compositions such as the exquisite *Gathasaptasati* of Hala Satavahana in Maharashtri Prakrit, the *Brhatkatha* of Gunadhya in the Paishachi dialect and the *Setubandha* of Pravarsena are particularly noteworthy. The *Gatha* provides a vivid picture of rural life in ancient India, the cares and aspirations of common village folk and their philosophy in times of prosperity and penury.

I am therefore very glad that a major institution for studies in Prakrit language and literature is being established in Shravanabelagola. I trust the institute will do its utmost to bring forth the treasures of Prakrit in the medium of modern Indian language for the benefit of the people.

Friends, it is with these words, and with a sense of great reverence towards the essentials of Jaina doctrine, history and culture, that I inaugurate the celebrations for the Mahamastakabhisheka of Gomateshwara, and welcome the establishment of the National Institute of Prakrit Studies.

May more and more of us become aware of the path to true liberation : सम्यग्दर्शनज्ञानचारित्राणि: "Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct.

सर्वे सुखिना सन्तु

Sanskrit for Strengthening Ethical Values

I EXPRESS MY sincere thanks to the Vidyapeetha and to you all for this felicitation and honour. I accept this honour and the Degree conferred on me with great pleasure, as also your good wishes for me.

Distinguished scholars ! It is hardly necessary to say anything in the presence of scholars like you about the richness of Sanskrit language. I consider myself fortunate to have had an opportunity to study this language. I have natural and deep rooted faith in Sanskrit. This faith is not only because of my reverence towards the ancient ideals but I accept with all humility and say it time and again that this language is full of rich and vast literature. If it is viewed only from the point of view of literature, even then this is figured among the richest languages of the world. This is the primary fountain head of the spirituality, the store house of sciences, the foundation of ethical values, field of development for the arts, and the fore-runner of the principle of national integration. This is the root of our culture wherein a balance and due importance has been given to all the four *Purusharthas* (activities) of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama*, and *Moksha*. The streams of *Artha* and *Kama* flow within the boundaries of *Dharma* and *Moksha*, in this culture and they do not transgress these boundaries.

The most complicated problem being faced by the present day society is that the tides of *Artha* and *Kama* are out to engulf the whole life. Therefore, the pressing need of the day is the propagation of Sanskrit to ensure establishment of ethical values. Other languages also grow in the lap of this mother language. The enchanting scent of Sanskrit gives fragrance not only to India but to the entire world. As a language, Sanskrit has been respected by all. The world has accepted the originality, reasonableness and scientific character of Panini's Grammar.

The modern Computer Scientists have acknowledged that this language is most suitable for Computer. The mundane and

Conferment of the Degree 'Vachaspati' by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Vidyapeetha, New Delhi, 3 December 1993

the spiritual both the facets can be seen in its different schools of philosophy. This language has been enriched by the contribution of great poets like Valmiki, Kalidas, Bhavabhuti, Magha; scholars like Manu, specialists in political science and economics like Kautilya, physicians of the stature of Charak, Sushruta, Vag Bhatta, mathematicians and astronomers of the calibre of Arya Bhatta, Varahamihira and Bhaskara, specialists in architecture and other arts. The relevance of this language is quite apparent even today. I have been repeatedly telling in various fora that by the mantras like :

द्यौः शान्तिरन्तरिक्षं शान्तिः पृथिवी शान्तिरापः शान्तिरोषधयः शान्तिः ।
वनस्पतयः शान्तिर्विश्वेदेवाः शान्तिर्ब्रह्म शान्तिः सर्व शान्तिः शान्तिरेव शान्तिः
सा मा शान्तिरेधि ॥

(शुक्लयजुर्वेद—अध्याय-36, मंत्र-17)

prayer has been offered not only for the peace of the Universe but for each and every aspect of nature like the Earth, Waters, Herbs, etc. This desire expressed by Vedic Rishis centuries back, inspires us to give due importance to nature through the purity of the environment. “Ekam Sad Vipra Bahudha Vadanti”. This mantra from *Rig Veda* establishes the unity of God and destroys the very roots of caste and clan distinctions. In essence we are one, although people express it differently. “Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam” — This mantra makes the entire mankind as one family. “Mata Bhumi Putroham Prithivyah” — This mantra crosses all geographical frontiers and presents mankind as sons and daughters of this mother earth. “Janam Bibhrati Bahudha Vivachasam” — This clearly reflects that from the ancient times there always prevailed different languages amongst the people. This makes all linguistic differences and quarrels meaningless and futile. Sanskrit literature is the root of integrity, unity and of course the Indian culture. This literature is full of lofty ideals of the magnanimity, tolerance, equality, helpfulness, service unto poor, penance, devotion and renunciation. This is why I respect this language and have faith in it.

But a lot more remains to be done in this field. The best in Sanskrit literature should be translated into other Indian languages, and likewise, the best in these languages should be translated into Sanskrit. This will enrich both and the nectar of the Sanskrit language will be available to the common man. Efforts should be made that the scholars transmit the knowledge inherent in San-

skrit to the future generations in a spirit of service. I would request you to give proper lead in this direction.

I am well aware of the progress made by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha. I congratulate the Vidyapeetha for the services rendered by this Delhi based institute and the efforts it has made for the development and promotion of Sanskrit education in the entire country. I felicitate the teachers, the students and the staff of the Vidyapeetha whose devotion has made this progress possible. I fervently hope that the Government of India and the University Grants Commission will contribute more liberally towards its progress so that it can translate into reality the dream of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.

I would once again like to thank you for your presence in this function and for honouring me. In fact I feel this honour is the grace and kindness of my Sanskrit teachers.

For Universal Education

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be with you today at the opening of the 'Education for All' Summit in New Delhi. I extend to all the honoured delegates a warm welcome and wish you a pleasant and fruitful stay in my country.

India is indeed proud to host this major international conference having the participation of nine countries including Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan. In the aggregate, the peoples of our nine countries represent more than half of all humankind. The initiatives, policies and programmes, undertaken with respect to the well-being of the peoples of our countries, bear a historic significance to the entire human race. The goal of Education for All by the turn of this century is a great cause. Our endeavours and directions will serve to build a better future for all.

Education is a primary need of every human being and literacy an indispensable tool for this purpose. We have to recognise

that the aspirations and hopes of the peoples of our countries depend on the provision of appropriate systems of education. The great problems of poverty, ignorance and disease, can be addressed effectively only if we succeed in our programmes for education and literacy. An ancient Chinese saying comes to mind :

“If you are thinking of one year, plant rice,
If you are thinking of a decade, plant trees,
If you are thinking of a century, educate the people.”

Today in many countries the right to education is a fundamental right. The issue therefore is how to provide education to all. A UNESCO Document of 1972 bearing the title ‘Learning To Be’ had mentioned :

“If we admit that education is and will be more and more a primordial need for each individual, then not only must we develop, enrich and multiply the school and the university, we must also transcend it by broadening the educational function to the dimensions of society as a whole.”

While education continues to be concerned essentially with individual development, its approach to this fundamental task is now conditioned by social concerns which have acquired a new importance. Social relevance can be established only through an iterative and interactive process between society and educational institutions. In this fast changing world, dynamism and innovation are fundamental to progress. We should be prepared to think far ahead to ensure that the educational system continuously responds to the true needs of a society that is evolving, so that it can serve the objectives of human advancement, progress, prosperity and happiness. Social scientists and economists now fully acknowledge the strong impact of education on development sectors like health, nutrition, and child-care.

Conversely, education systems, to be effective, require a holistic approach : incorporating attention towards improved levels of nutrition, health care, and social attitudes. There is a basic complementarity between these sectors. The linkages need to be fostered and the convergence, of a variety of delivery mechanisms for public good, needs to be intensified.

In this connexion, I feel special care is required towards the education and empowerment of girls and women to enable them to attain their full potential.

All this requires coordinated action by every component sector of society. Increasingly, every socially-aware person should be alive to the duty to society in terms of removing illiteracy and contributing towards the goal of education for all.

Towards achieving this goal, international cooperation has a position of major significance. The sharing of experience, research, development of teaching material, training programmes, and contributing to the equipment and resource needs of the national education programmes comprises a major dimension for work. The role of the United Nations agencies is of particular importance in this connection. I would like to express my appreciation of the contributions made by the experts of the UNESCO, UNICEF and the UNFPA in catalyzing international cooperation to promote education.

Excellencies, I should also like to draw your attention to the need for all of us to appreciate the importance of building peace, understanding, friendship and cooperation globally. It is an atmosphere in which these ideals are ascendant that the efforts to concentrate on development, progress and the well-being of every human being — man, woman and child, will be more possible and achievable. In the ultimate analysis, to gain real success in the goal of Education for All, it is of supreme importance that we work to build a peaceful world, a world in which all nations and peoples can devote their resources, talents and energy towards enhancing and enriching the quality of life available to this generation and to future generations.

In India, in our ancient Sanskrit literature, the philosophy is expressed of the oneness of all humankind and of the human race being one family inhabiting the planet earth. We believe, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said : "Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

The cause of Education for All, in my view, is perhaps one of the most important endeavours being undertaken in the world today — as truly it seeks to open a new chapter in the history of humankind. In my considered view, the mission of Education for All seeks to accelerate the emergence of a higher level of civilization in the planet — a civilization that cherishes and nurtures the best elements of traditional cultures, draws upon wholesome potentials of science and technology, fosters the spirit of human-

ism, peace and friendship between man and man, nation and nation, around the world. Let us rededicate ourselves to the great goal before us.

I wish your deliberations every success. With these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Education for All Summit.

Scaling Greater Heights

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be in your midst this afternoon for the opening of the Third National Games.

On this happy occasion, I would like to extend to all of you who have come here from different parts of our great country, my heartiest greetings and good wishes.

I am delighted to see the splendid stadium and sports complex that has been constructed here in Pune. The State Government, and all the diverse organizations and individuals who have laboured hard to build such a fine environment for sports, deserve our special thanks and appreciation. This stadium and the connected facilities comprise a major addition to modern sports infrastructure in India. I am sure this would encourage and stimulate more and more young women and men to participate in games, athletics and sports, and enhance their own skills and capabilities. I would like to see all the sports facilities established here being fully utilised in the months and years to come.

It is appropriate that this entire area bears the name of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj whose glorious life will ever inspire us with the ideals of patriotism, unity, secularism, resolute determination and courageous, dynamic action.

It is important that the youth of our country bear these ideals in mind. It is essential that young women and men, boys and girls, who will build India's future are inspired to contribute to the strength and prosperity of India on the basis of these ideals.

To attain the highest level of performance in any field, apart from the need for the necessary physical resources in terms of playing facilities, equipment and competition, the most crucial factor is complete attuning of body, mind and spirit. There must be a burning zeal for excellence and single-minded determination and pursuit of the designated goal. Essentially, the supreme performers compete not so much against others but to surmount and succeed against their own limitations. They set standards for themselves to exceed. Each one of you therefore have to strive to ascend higher and higher levels of performance by relentless personal effort.

There is tremendous talent in India. Our country, with the world's second largest population has the potential of producing the finest sports persons. The provision of sports facilities, resources and support is certainly a key factor. Resolution and determination of the individual, and his or her own commitment is, in my view, the most important element.

It gives me much happiness to see greater participation of girls in the various events. Growing participation of girls and women in sports, games and athletics reflects the increasing confidence and contribution of the women of our country in national development.

The National Games provide all of you with a great opportunity also to acquaint yourself and build friendship with fellow participants from different States and regions of our country. Such interaction between individuals, drawn from the various cultural and linguistic areas of India, will be, I am sure, an enriching experience for all. It will give you a sense of the total Indian identity, a sense of oneness and appreciation of the cultural and social wealth of India's heritage and of India's potential for the future. Above all, the games provide an occasion deeply to understand that when, together, we strive for excellence, combining all our great resources of talent, made the greater by unified effort, we Indians can win pride of place in any international arena.

We have a dream before us of a strong, dynamic, prosperous and progressive India. We can materialise this dream into reality if every young man and woman sets himself and herself to achieving excellence in the spirit of unity and patriotism.

With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Third National Games.

A Valuable Repository of Christian Art

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be in the midst of such a distinguished gathering of clergy, scholars and eminent people of Goa. I have looked forward to visiting this Museum of Christian Art in Rachol, which has been an important centre of knowledge, research and spiritual study. Rachol symbolizes India's innate and natural urge to accept, respect and, indeed, to cherish the teachings in all the religions of the world. Lord Jesus Christ had said : "In the mansion of my Father are many rooms." This doctrine has been central to the great heritage of India's religious thought. It is a source of tremendous strength to us. We should comprehend the full magnitude of its meaning and draw upon its profound and direct relevance to our own individual outlooks and to the life of our nation.

The imposing building once named as the College of Society of Jesus, and later as the Royal Seminary of Rachol is now known as the Patriarchal Seminary. It was a centre for the work of Jesuits who preached the Gospel and founded several churches. The Seminary has played an important role in preparing young citizens for the vocation of priesthood. We can take pride in the fact that the first Indian priest to be entrusted with diplomatic mission, as Apostolic Nuncio, at the Service of the Holy See, comes from Goa and is a former student of the Rachol Seminary. The Museum of Christian Art being set up in its precincts is yet another milestone in the Seminary's illustrious record. Goa will now enjoy the privilege of being home to Asia's first Museum of Christian Art in the setting up of which assistance has been extended by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage and other organizations and church institutions.

Christianity reached India in 52 A.D., more than 100 years before it travelled across Europe. St. Thomas the Apostle is believed to have preached the Gospel in Kerala. Centuries later, Goa occupied an important place in the assimilation of Christian doctrine, philosophy and way of life in our country. Goa received

the great Saint, Francis Xavier whose piety, spirituality and fortitude evoked reverence among young and old, rich and poor. In a letter from Goa to his companions at Rome, St. Francis Xavier wrote in September, 1542, "All the time that I have lived here, I have enjoyed the great affection and goodwill of the people of this city ... They are very attached and devoted to me".

St. Francis Xavier pioneered the idea of adopting the customs and language of the local population who held him in the highest esteem. The preservation of his mortal remains in the Church of the College of St. Paul is indicative of the deep impression left by his life and work in our country. He proclaimed the Christian virtues of love and reciprocity of goodwill among human beings — the doctrine of "Do unto others as you would, they do unto you."

Richly endowed with churches and convents, Goa has been termed the 'Rome of the Orient' which, in addition to being an important metropolis and trading centre, was also a leading centre of artistic activity producing several remarkable Indo-Portuguese works of art which endure to this day. Over the years, religious orders like the Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans and Jesuits came to India establishing traditions of art and architecture, language and literature which enriched the evolution of a composite culture on our soil.

The construction of many of Goa's churches can be ascribed to the period upto the beginning of the 17th century. The architects responsible for this construction looked for inspiration to the Italians some of whom were Jesuits who had come to Goa. The Church of St. Cajetan is modelled on the original design of the St. Peter's Church in Rome, while the Church of Bom Jesus with its facade decorated with Ionic, Doric and Corinthian pilasters depicts the application of the classical order. An interesting fact about the building of these Churches is that while the architects were foreigners, the artisans were local people as is evident from the floral decorations on the interior walls, notably in the Church of St. Francis of Assisi. In the Church of Our Lady of Rosary, there is an intricately covered cenotaph on one side of the main altar, bearing the impact of the Bijapur style.

With the increasing presence of Christianity in this part of the country, masterpieces of sculpture depicting images of Christ on the Cross, of the Virgin Mary in different invocations and of Patron Saints and Angels came to be introduced in Goa. The

images, particularly of ivory, display remarkable perfections. At the same time, the religious orders contributed to introducing paintings for instruction on passages of the *Holy Bible*. From the paintings preserved to date can be seen, superb examples of traditional Adoration of the Magi, the Baptism of Christ and His Entry into Jerusalem. As you know, the 'Portraits' of the Virgin under different invocations, and that of the lives of saints are part of a unique selection of classical paintings on canvas and on wooden panels in several churches, especially in the gallery of St. Francis di Assisi in the Old City and in the Seminary of Rachol.

Friends, while records of Goa's cultural history can be found in the archives and the libraries, there still exists the need to salvage and preserve for posterity, works of painting and sculpture, monuments and other forms of art and architecture. I hope that, by supplementing the efforts of the Government and other agencies in this direction, the Museum of Christian Art will emerge as a valuable repository of historical materials and become a place of study for scholars and researchers, engaging equally the interest of growing numbers of tourists and the people of the State. May it help to spread the radiant message of the world's great religions — the message of Service. Jesus, in the Sermon on the Mount, had said: "In the service of my people do thou serve me".

St. Paul the Apostle, in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, said: "He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver".

I thank the Government of Goa for inviting me to this function and extend my felicitations and good wishes to all those who are contributing to the development of the Museum.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Museum of Christian Art.

Spread Humanism through Art

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I join this distinguished gathering of artists and art connoisseurs at the inauguration of the VIII Triennale-India. I extend my thanks to Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, Chairman of the Lalit Kala Akademi, for inviting me to inaugurate the event. I also offer my cordial greetings to the artists from different parts of the globe whose work is represented in this Triennale.

The roots of art and of artistic expression can be traced to our cultural and aesthetic conditioning — to our tribal moorings, to our religious environment, to the influence of particular guilds, schools of art and erstwhile royal courts. The evolving temper shapes a painter's or sculptor's vision. There is a deeper impulse which separates the exceptional from the average. Our ancient forebearers drew with simple lucidity on the walls of caves. Even in their ageless rock-paintings we can discern an intangible but nevertheless real message which reflects their creative spirit.

Nature in its pristine form has been a source of mystic inspiration for art. The shapes, lines, colours, tones, and—underlying them—the artists' vision, articulates the artist's sense of mystery, of awe. With wonder as man viewed the earth, the sea and the sky in their many changing lines, and proceeded to depict them, art began as a form of portrayal. With passage of time, both painting and sculpture moved from mere facile transcribing of externals towards expression of the artist's most intensely felt, inner-most, perceptions.

Philosophy and religion have thus provided profound materials for artistic representation. The celebrated frescoes and sculptures in India as well as in Sri Lanka, Java, Thailand, Nepal, China and Japan are the result of artistry imbued with devotion. The classical works of ancient Greece and Rome and other parts of Europe bear the stamp of faith.

India has historically been open to the winds of change, even those originating from other cultures and societies. In the ancient

period, the art of Persia intermingled with Indian artistic expression and is represented in our sculpture and painting. The grandeur of Persepolis thus lives as one of the many integrated elements in our artistic heritage. The Gandhar School of Sculpture, similarly, reflects the Indian synthesis of Grecian art forms and styles. The sphinx capital at Karla exemplifies our connection with ancient Egypt. Artistic traditions connected with Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam enrich India's relations with nations near and far.

Modern art seeks to articulate some questions of our time. The march of science and the ethos of modern civilization inevitably influence contemporary forms of art.

In the modern period, Western modes of painting were assimilated by a whole generation of artists whose themes and artistic statements still remained authentically Indian. Raja Ravi Verma used the styles of painting of the Victorian era, but depicted themes from our own legend and mythology. Under Rabindranath Tagore's inspiration, an altogether new and dynamic expression of our ancient artistic identity came into its own. Themes from India's daily concerns have recurred in our paintings again and again. Amrita Shergil achieved exquisite lyricism in her portrayal of simple Indian faces, moods and forms. Outstanding Indian artists and sculptors have won international acclaim for their depiction of various facets of our civilization and society.

Gandhiji, writing in *Young India* noted that "truly beautiful creations come when right perception is at work. If these moments are rare in life, they are also rare in art." The Eighth Triennale-India helps portray this realization of the rare moments of life from all over the world. It provides an opportunity for international artistic interaction and an exposure to India for those who view it with a creative vision.

Artists, thinkers, writers reflect and mould public opinion. Art is a language which requires no translation. By its very universality, art spreads the message of cooperation and understanding, of a common world and the shared interests of the people who inhabit it.

With these words, I have great pleasure in declaring the Eighth Triennale-India open.

Diversify Cultural Interaction

I CONSIDER IT a great honour to receive the Doctorate Honoris Causa of Law of the St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia. I believe this occasion signifies the recognition in Bulgaria of the great intellectual tradition of India and our shared values and goals for the good of all.

As civilization has unfolded, the quest for knowledge has been an eternal endeavour defining by its progress the advance of humankind. It has as its origin Man's curiosity about himself, his existence, his very purpose and destiny. It is this search for Truth which impells us all to develop powers of reason, to enquire, to deduce, and to discover Truth. Each generation leaves to the next a valuable legacy of their progress, and the process of assimilating and utilizing knowledge for human well-being is a central purpose of education. Education has thus always had an ethical context, one which has determined its purpose and greater mission. Indeed, knowledge involving the process of search, Law as a derivative of knowledge applied to regulate reality, and Truth and human good as the ultimate goals, have been long regarded as part of a whole, each incomplete without the other.

All cultures have historically associated the imparting of education with the instilling of values. Our ancient texts, the *Upanishads*, summed this up in a message to students, relevant now as it was then :

"Forever speak the truth, follow the dharma, strive constantly towards true learning and progress, forever on the righteous way to welfare, teach the world as diligently as you learn : behave this way everyday, life-long, conducting yourself thus be creative and ascendant."

Education represents the formation of a personality, both individual and collective. As with all things human, it can be put to the service of society or become an instrument of subjugation. Undoubtedly, it confers practical and material benefits which are

important in themselves. But its very significance makes it impossible to consider education in a moral vacuum.

The Patron of your University, St. Kliment Ohridski is a powerful exemplar of the ethical dimensions of education. The Ohrid School, which he founded, is synonymous with organized education in Bulgaria and was largely responsible for the remarkable intellectual and cultural progress of your country. Its curriculum included languages, natural sciences and theology.

“Over the years, the University has nurtured a sense of purpose and an ethos of far-reaching importance for your society, enabling the sustenance, growth and enrichment of diverse streams of culture that go into making the kinship of all humankind.”

Variegation in humanity has manifested itself everywhere, responding to the imperatives of geography and history. Each culture has produced its own philosophies and literature, art and music, which reflect the interplay of universal forms with the local context.

Few nations have had privilege of receiving such myriad strands of intellectual streams as has India. From the very beginning, ours was an ethos rooted in synthesis and understanding, welcoming noble and positive influences from all sides, assimilating and respecting diversity of approach towards Truth, having faith in the inner oneness within apparent differences. The ancient *Bhagavad Gita* has a verse :

Sarvabhūteṣu Yenai kam
bhāvam avyayam ikṣate
avibhaktaṁ vibhakteṣu
taj jñānaṁ viddhi sāttvikam

“He who can discern the inner oneness in the apparently diverse, know him to have learnt of the Truth.”

On such basis was the richness, range and vitality of Indian culture built up over the centuries. India became the home and the refuge of all the religions of the world. Christianity came to India as early as in 52 AD with St. Thomas the Apostle who established seven churches in southern India. Christianity in India thus preceded, by several centuries, the advent of Christianity in Europe.

The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, stated the essence of a typically Indian conviction when he observed that “Religions are different roads converging on the same point.”

When civilizations as distant from each other, like India and Bulgaria, reach out and establish an understanding, it is this spirit of openness and universality which is intuitively expressed. India and Bulgaria are both heirs to a tradition of absorbing the good and relevant within every culture, whilst also safeguarding and developing the positive features of our own heritage. There can verily, be no better relationship than one based on a common bond of a shared quest for knowledge and universal values for human advancement.

It, therefore, gives me particular satisfaction to note the endeavours amongst Bulgarian intellectuals, and more so those of Sofia University, in understanding and interpreting India. The role of Rakovsky and Seliminsky in establishing Indological studies in the 19th century has been well documented. Your national revival provided a further impetus to interest in the Indian people and their culture. It is but appropriate that we recall the contribution of scholars like Shishmanov and Arnaudov in this context. In the continuous exchange of ideas and contacts, the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to Bulgaria in 1926 occupies a special place and deserves particular mention. While he was known in Bulgaria even before his visit, through translation of his poems from the *Geetanjali* by Metodi Vechev and by others, as well as through the works of Nikolai Rainov, he captured the imagination of the Bulgarian intelligentsia.

Our bilateral literary and cultural interaction has spread widely at the level of lay readership. Our epics — the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Panchatantra* — are well known in Bulgaria, as are the works of modern authors like Prem Chand and Mulk Raj Anand. The influence of India can be vividly seen in the paintings of Ivan Markov and Boris Georgiev. As we seek to communicate our inner feelings to each other, we naturally look for inspiration to common experiences. Your national revival evoked parallels with our freedom struggle. Few Indians could have expressed better Rakovski's call of 1857 that "India has been Indian, India must be Indian, India will be Indian". It should come as no surprise to you all that Hristo Botev and Hristo Smirnensky have been translated into Indian languages. Professor Kancho Kanev, who has devoted his life to translating the *Vedas* and to the study of the links between ancient Bulgarian and Indian scriptures, as well as to the interpretation of the philosophies of Gandhi and Nehru, is an outstanding contributor in this tradition of common learning.

Indo-Bulgarian relations demonstrate that the quest of learning can be an effective integrative force amongst nations. The time when culture and language were perceived as concepts of exclusivity are behind us. Education, as a process of the broadening of the mind, should promote awareness of the dangers of chauvinism and intolerance. It must seek to unite, to strengthen and to enrich. This One World of ours is burdened by problems of great magnitude, for which common solutions have to be found. If we are dedicated to human advancement, it is incumbent on us to promote those values which are to the benefit of humankind.

Humanism, Peace and a holistic approach to Human Advancement are the needs of the coming generations. Education must inculcate these as being essential and vital to our future. The academic communities in our two countries, thinkers, writers and poets, scientists and technologists, can make a profound contribution by cooperating with each other in the cause.

I thank you once again for the great honour you have done me. May I express my confidence that our nations and our academic institutions will work together in building bridges of understanding, bridges of peace, bridges to a better future for the world as a whole.

Education—an Integrative Force among Nations

I FEEL DEEPLY honoured on being a recipient of a Doctorate Honoris Causa of the University of Bucharest.

This occasion associates me with the great tradition of scholarship, service and synthesis, so courageously sustained through times of good fortune and adversity, by this illustrious seat of learning. I should like to express my sincere gratitude to the authorities of the University for their very gracious and thoughtful gesture.

Conferment of the Doctorate Honoris Causa by the University of Bucharest, Romania, 1 June 1994

If I may say so, the function today symbolizes the shared desire as between academicians and educational institutions in India and Romania, to enlarge and enhance cooperation for mutual benefit in the sphere of education and research, culture, the arts, and in science and technology.

Bucharest University is, in my view, uniquely suited to catalyse such development. The University is renowned for its ethos as a body-corporate having an enriching effect on the physical, intellectual and spiritual resources of Romania.

It is noteworthy that the University's outlook of synthesis and harmony, the search for truth, and the emphasis on the use of knowledge for human good, in the spirit of service, coincides with the ideals and goals of education cherished in India, through the ages, from our ancient past to the present day.

The profound motto of Bucharest University : "Virtute et Sapientia" : "Virtue and Wisdom": illustrates, beautifully, the intertwining of our Intellectual traditions. "Virtue and Wisdom" : a goal, an ideal, held aloft by this great University, to all who pass its portals, is precisely articulated in the heritage of India's intellectual and spiritual thought.

The ancient *Bhagavad Gita*, referring to four categories of noble and virtuous people, states, that among these, the man who is virtuous and wise, is supremely preferred.

“तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्त एकभक्ति विशिष्यते।

प्रियो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यथमहं स च मन प्रियः॥

“Of these (the four types of virtuous men) the man of wisdom, steadfast, excels; for supremely dear am I to the virtuous and wise, and he dear to me.”

The combination of Virtue and Wisdom, emblazoned in your motto, thus represents, at once, an Indian and a Romanian ideal. It reflects a certain oneness and continuity in the normative standards and values of our respective milieus. We should build well, and with confidence, on such sure and inspirational basis.

The work of translation, interpretation and popularization of literary treaties in each other's languages can, with mutual advantage, be magnified and intensified. There is already a well-established Indo-Romanian tradition in this respect. Romanian philologists of the 19th century who turned to Indological studies,

including Sanskrit, have set an admirable record of scholarship in this field. The great Romanian poet Mihail Eminescu will always be remembered for his pioneering work, in writing the first Sanskrit grammar in Romanian, and introducing themes from Indian texts in his poetry for the people of Romania. The names of Bogdan Hasdeu, his pupil Lazar Saineanu, C.D. Georgian, Vasile Burla, Vasile Pogor, Anthenescu and others, also deserve special mention.

With their contributions, a process commenced, of acquaintance with, and popularisation of, Indian culture in the Romanian mind.

This was greatly reinforced by the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to Romania in 1926 when he delivered a series of lectures. The Romanian poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga is said to have been closely associated with Tagore in Romania.

It should be possible, by concerted effort on the part of the academies, institutes and universities in India and Romania, to diversify and expand the range of cultural and intellectual interaction between our two countries. This should be pursued with a view to organizing a full appreciation of the wealth in our heritage and to strengthen and widen the foundations for building greater understanding, friendship and cooperation between India and Romania in the years to come.

The people of Romania in recent years have returned towards democracy, pluralism and the rule of law buttressed by an independent judiciary and a free press. These developments have been welcomed by us in India. Together, we should now strive for a qualitative and quantitative enhancement in Indo-Romanian relations within the auspices of a shared commitment to the democratic way of life, the quest for peace and the goal of one world.

I have carried with me from India the three-fold message of Parliamentary Democracy, Economic Cooperation, and the Synthesis and Harmony for the oneness of humankind.

The normative ideal : "Virtute et Sapientia" directly enjoins a universality of outlook for the common good of all.

In our ancient text, the *Hitopadesh*, there is a verse :

अयं निजः परावेति गणनां लघुचेतसाम् ।
उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ॥

“This is mine, that is his” : counting thus is the outlook of lesser minds. The virtuous and wise recognize all humankind as one family.”

I am confident that Bucharest University, and the universities in India and Romania, will strive to give strength to this approach in the years ahead.

May I once again express my sincere thanks for the honour done to me.

I extend to the distinguished academic community in Romania my warm greetings and felicitations.

Inculcating the Age-old Values

THE BIRTH ANNIVERSARY of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, is observed each year in our country as Teacher's Day. By doing so, we honour not only a great intellectual and educationist, but the academic profession whose nobility he symbolised. It is an occasion when we appreciate the importance of education and value its contribution to the building of our society. It is appropriate that on this day, the National Awards for Teachers are presented as public recognition for the meritorious services of outstanding teachers.

Education has its origin in the Latin term 'educere', which means 'to bring out'. It is a process whereby the latent and potential capacities of human beings is made manifest, with the ultimate aim of bringing benefit to society. Education encourages cognition, brings about awareness and instils knowledge. In its essence, education is the inculcation of values, and is therefore of germinal importance. Those armed with knowledge have the power to shape the world and the ethical purpose to shape it for the better. For as the 'Kural' states :

“Acquire thoroughly the knowledge that is worth acquiring: and after acquiring it, walk thou in accordance therewith.”

Education will always have a moral and social context. Each society views it through its own cultural and historical perspective. But all of them value the role of teachers in disseminating knowledge and guiding its usage. This guidance of and assistance to young minds, when still in the formative stage, places a very heavy responsibility on teachers. The results of their endeavours is always critically examined and it has long been held that the teacher shall be accountable for the sins of the disciple :

“शिष्यं पापं गुरुम् ब्रजेत”

In fact, to the general responsibility of the profession is added the specific burden which a teacher carries of setting a personal example for his students. The term ‘Acharya’ traditionally used denotes one perfect in conduct, in ‘Acharan’. Teacher’s Day is, therefore, an appropriate occasion for teachers to ponder about their role and responsibilities, and for all of us to acknowledge and appreciate it.

In a nation like India, where we are still struggling to overcome problems fundamental to living, the role of the teachers becomes critical. Education has, for us, extreme importance as a vehicle of social change. It is not only a process of instilling ethical values but one of creating social awareness. In many of our villages, where levels of literacy are not high, the ‘Master’ is often the eyes and ears of his community, in fact, their interpreter to the outside world. He or she can decisively influence social habits, life styles, health conditions and even economic activity. While not all teachers may carry such a heavy burden, their contribution to nation-building is exceptional. This should be recognized not merely in terms of our expectations of the academic community, but also in our obligations to them.

The importance of education to building a modern society was recognized by our leaders even during the course of National Movement. Bapu devoted considerable attention to the promotion of basic education which he felt would be appropriate for the transformation of our villages. He was also the principal force behind the resolution on fundamental rights which he personally moved at the 1931 Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress in support of free primary education. These policies were translated into the Directive Principles of our Constitution, which

provide in Article 45, for free and compulsory education for children, and in Article 46, for promotion of the educational interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In doing so, our Founding Fathers envisaged education as the surest protection from social injustice and various forms of exploitation. The social relevance of education was best summed up by Dr. Radhakrishnan himself in his address to the Punjabi University in 1962 where he said :

“Education should be imparted with a view to the type of society that we wish to build. We are working for a modern democracy built on the values of human dignity and equality. These are only ideals; we should make them living forces. Our vision of the future should include these great principles.”

In the years that have passed, we have made significant strides in spreading literacy, in ensuring primary education and in the promotion of secondary and higher education. The number of universities have increased from 25 at the time of Independence, to 221 today. Technical education has also made great progress and we have the third largest pool of scientific manpower in the world. Our adult literacy rate has gone up to 48 per cent. The Central Government alone spends more than Rs.2,000 crore every year on education. But significant though our achievements have been, the challenges still to be addressed are equally enormous.

There is a growing realisation today that primary education has a critical role in the process of economic development. Countries in Asia with a high growth rate have also a high literacy rate. This correlation is worth thinking about, both for its economic and social implications. We cannot be complacent when our primary school attendance rate has barely crossed 50 per cent, when only 40 per cent of the children who join schools complete the first four years, and when the absolute number of illiterates in the country has grown by almost two hundred million since Independence.

Education is key to the development of our children, and thus, of our society. It was for this reason that such great stress has been laid on compulsory primary education. This commitment, made at the time of Independence and framing of our Constitution has, however, yet to be fully realised. Many States have only enabling legislation and there is a general belief that many of the children who do not go to school are exploited as labour. Neither tradition nor economic necessity can justify child labour and

eliminating such exploitation is one of the major challenges in the field of education today.

The education of girls is another subject of special attention. It has been estimated that in our country, more than 30 million girl children who should be going to the schools are not doing so. Undoubtedly, this reflects an unfortunate gender bias in our society. But this has serious social, health and economic implications which we cannot ignore. A mother is after all the first educator in the family and the most important one. If she is ignorant, how can the family develop? A literate mother, on the other hand, is more likely to bring up healthy children, educate them in turn, follow a small family norm and be a more responsible member of the society. Teachers, in particular, have a special responsibility to encourage the education of girl children.

Our national development is based on a vision of a society that reflects the composite nature of our culture, that promotes secular values, that strives for social justice, and that is committed to a democratic way of life. India is truly a mosaic, evolved over centuries of history, which embodies a multiplicity of languages, religions and ethnicities. A proper understanding of this inheritance is an important aspect of the education of our youth. Knowledge must be used to broaden the mind and combat signs of chauvinism, communalism and divisiveness. The role which teachers can play, including what Panditji called the scientific temper, is valuable.

It has given me a great pleasure to be with all of you today and to give away the National Awards for the Teachers. On this occasion, I convey the gratitude of the nation once again to the teaching profession, for its only through the guidance of enlightened persons that we can find enlightenment.

Social Reform for Progress and Prosperity

WE HAVE GATHERED here today to mark the beginning of the 175th year of a famous son of Bengal and of India, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate this Mela dedicated to the cause which Vidyasagarji stood for in his life time.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar is a household name and anecdotes about him abound: how he himself carried luggage at a Railway Station; waiting, as the Principal, silently at the gate to admonish teachers who were not punctual; offering his person at a gathering where plans were being made to assault him for his widow remarriage movement; refusing to enter the Asiatic Society when asked to remove his slippers. These endless store of stories constitute the legend of Vidyasagar, and spread his profound message of humanity and justice.

Vidyasagarji's activities were extraordinary even by the turbulent standards of mid 19th century India. Our society was being shaken to its core by the ingress of an alien culture. Radical reforms were required to rouse the nation from its complacency. In Bengal, already in the forefront of the National Movement, Shri Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagarji symbolised this re-awakening. He ensured that in response to colonial occupation, our nation moved forward to modernity rather than fall back to orthodoxy. And he did so, not by blindly emulating another culture, but by drawing from our own traditions. Symbolically, this moderniser was always in Indian dress!

Reforming society is a complex task and its many facets are reflected in the diverse endeavours of this great man. Vidyasagar pioneered modern education in India and the scale of his reforms was truly monumental. During his stewardship of the Sanskrit College, he transformed Sanskrit and Bengali education. Through the Metropolitan Institution, he introduced English medium education to Indians. As an Inspector of Schools, he was responsible for furthering primary education. His famous collaboration with

Bethune led to the organization of women's education. His activities covered the smallest of details: introducing changes in syllabi, regrouping subjects for more effective teaching, supervising changes in the text-books and even enforcing punctuality in schools !

Modernizing education was itself critical to changing the habits and thinking of society. But such was Vidyasagar's commitment and zeal that he did not remain in the confines of the academic world. Instead, he boldly entered the public arena, advocating and even implementing changes.

A major focus of his reforms was the status of women. Vidyasagar saw in oppression of widows, child marriage and polygamy, signs of the disease which afflicted our body politic. Vidyasagar's public campaigns for widow remarriage and opposing polygamy and child marriage are now history. His triumph over forces of orthodoxy and reaction was significantly achieved by his mastery over our ancient texts. He drew on the *Parasara Samhita* to make the case for widow remarriage, quoting :

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीवे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चखापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

"On receiving no tidings of a husband, on his demise, on his turning an Ascetic, on his being found impotent, or on his degradation, under any one of the five calamities, it is canonical for women to take another husband."

He substantiated this with a provision from the *Manu Samhita*:

या पत्या वा परित्यक्ता विधवा वा स्वयेच्छया ।
उत्पादयेत् पुनर्भूत्वा स पौनर्भव उच्यते ॥

"If a woman after becoming a widow, or being divorced by her husband, marries again (in due form) the son born of her of this marriage is called a *Paunarbhava*."

He cited as an example Arjuna, who married the widowed daughter of Naga King Airavata and sired Iravan.

Vidyasagar's efforts finally resulted in the Widow Remarriage Law of 1856. His tracts against polygamy, so compelling in their logic and passion, turned public opinion against that practice. He took the initiative to set up the Hindu Family Annuity Fund to help widows. Virtually his last act was to give his opinion from his death bed on the Age of Consent Bill. What was extraordinary about Vidyasagarji was that he led by example. He encouraged his

son, Narayan, to marry a widow despite the opposition of family members.

Given his commitment to education and social reform, it was natural that Vidyasagarji should have been active in journalism. His Bengali columns in *Tatwabodhini Patrika* and *Somprokash* were as effective in mobilising public opinion as were his English articles for *Hindoo-Patriot*. Visualising in the dissemination of knowledge the basis for enhancing societal awareness, he established the famous Sanskrit Press.

Literature was another field where Vidyasagarji's contribution is remembered to the present day. Regarded as the founder of modern Bengali prose, he transformed the written language from an archaic mode understood only by the elite to a medium which reflected the urges and the interests of the masses. What greater praise can there be than from the pen of Gurudev Tagore, who wrote :

"Vidyasagar's greatest achievement is the Bengali language. If Bengali language is ever enriched with literary wealth and beauty, if it can command equal respect with the other great languages of the world as the eternal fountain-head of noble thoughts, then alone this great achievement of Vidyasagar will be crowned with the glory it deserves."

Today, as we pay tribute to this great reformer, it is incumbent on us to reflect on the relevance of his message to contemporary society. Vidyasagarji made us aware of the importance of education to nation building. Education is a dynamic process which requires constant change because society itself is never static. Global upheavals of the 19th century led to an educational revolution of which Vidyasagarji was the voice. In the contemporary world, there are numerous economic and social compulsions to which education system must respond. Foremost among them is the growth of technologies with their enormous capability to shape the lives of people. The ability to create, absorb and manage technologies is one of the major challenges before us. We seek to interact more intensively with other nations of the world to this end. This requires a constant upgradation in the quality of our basic education, in technical skills, in engineering, in management, in health and in other fields. The message of Vidyasagar — that education must reflect the requirements of society and respond to its urge for betterment — remains as valid today as it was then.

An important element of our national agenda is to ensure universal and compulsory primary education. Vidyasagarji envisaged human resources as our greatest asset and its development as imperative. Education is the basis for this development and will yield dividends in a variety of fields. Sharpening our skill and enhancing our knowledge alone can make us competitive as we enter the 21st century. Primary education, women's education and adult literacy are our national priorities. Bengal will truly live upto Vidyasagar's dreams if it can achieve 100 per cent literacy by that time.

Social reform, centered on the status of women, is an ongoing process. Much remains to be done to consolidate Vidyasagar's legacy in women's education. Female literacy rate, which was a third of the male at the time of independence, is closer to two-thirds now. But this is far from satisfactory. Women's education is the education of society itself. It will not only allow women to contribute to society more fully, but reflect on population growth, on health, and on the upbringing of children.

The predicament of widows, so closely associated with Vidyasagar's endeavours, remains a matter of concern. The more reprehensible practices of the 19th century may have diminished. But now estimated at over 30 million, widows still face discrimination and neglect. They are vulnerable to social and economic pressures and are the first victims of any scarcity. They are compelled to send their children to work, thereby aggravating the child labour situation.

The general status of women is a subject which this country must address seriously. Our demographic structure speaks volumes of the discrimination which runs so deep in our society. The gender gap is visible with every indicator, be it education, health or even the very survival of the girl child. Our admiration for Vidyasagar should translate into concrete efforts for the welfare of women.

Vidyasagarji's, all activities were in keeping with our tradition of cultural synthesis and harmony. He was a conscious propagator of the intermingling of cultures of the East and the West. He struggled against narrowness of thought and social prejudices, ending caste based segregation in his college. Through welfare activities, he promoted communal harmony. Ramakrishna Paramhansa described him as a great *Sanyasi* and Bapu as *Karunasagar*. His humanistic vision remains an inspiration to the present day. Let us all resolve to realise his ideals.

Preserve Culture at All Costs

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with all of you at the presentation of the Sangeet Natak Akademi Fellowships and Awards for 1993.

Sounds, beats and rhythm are fundamental expressions of life. They constitute the basis for performing arts, which are an important part of every culture. As an articulation of inner self, arts have been long seen as a defining characteristic of human beings. It represents the eternal quest for perfection. It signifies a higher level of existence.

‘साहित्य संगीतकला विहीनः साक्षात्पशुः पुच्छः विषाणहीनः’

(A human being without knowledge of literature, music and art is verily like a beast without a tail and horns.)

As history unfolded, performing arts found expression in rites and ceremonies, in work and game, in devotion and in pleasure. Music, dance and theatre have always been regarded in India as supreme endeavours. The skill and aesthetics associated with them are elevated to the level of divinity. Even at the time of the *Rig Veda*, dancing was one of the many forms of God visualised by our ancestors :

श्रिये ते पादा दुव आ मिमिक्षुर,
धृष्णर, वज्री शवसा दक्षिणावान्।
वसनो अत्कं सुरभिं दृशे कं
स्वर्ण नृताविषरो बभूव ॥ ऋ.६। २६। ३

“For glory Thy devotees embrace Thy feet.

Bold, thunder-armed, gracious through Thy might,
Clad in a vesture, beautiful as heaven to look on,
Thou hast been as an active dancer.”

We associate Saraswati with her Veena, Lord Krishna with playing the Flute and Narada with the *Yazh*. The very description of Lord Shiva as Nataraja brings out the celestial nature of his dance. This is inherent too in our image of the Nartana Ganapati.

Religion has long been the inspiration for our arts, just as royalty was its traditional sustenance. The latent talents of our

great composers and singers were brought out by their *Bhakti*. In Meerabai and Surdas, Puranderadas and Tyagaraja, devotion found powerful expression in the vibrancy and beauty of music. This holds true for our dance forms as well. And over the years, religious art was supplemented by secular art.

The evolution of our music, dance and theatre is the very history of our nation. Our arts have been dynamic and creative, innovative and experimental. It has preserved even as it has developed. This heritage of culture permeates our life style. To our people, it has meaning at every level. The discernment of the classically initiated is matched by the enthusiasm of popular or folk art. The intermingling of diverse streams, which make up our composite culture, has further enriched this tradition of artistic expression. It is manifested in the creativity of an Amir Khusrau, in the patronage of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah or in the versatility of an Ustad Allaaddin Khan. In turn, its influence is visible on our literature, our sculpture, various schools of painting and architecture.

Rejuvenation of arts was an inevitable accompaniment of our national reconstruction. It represented an important reaffirmation of our cultural identity. By promoting greater understanding, even within the country, of our various cultures, it became a vital aspect of our national integration as well. The Sangeet Natak Akademi, founded in 1953, was the symbol of these endeavours. Its moving force was a figure who himself embodied our cultural synthesis—Maulana Azad.

At its inauguration 41 years ago, Maulana Azad defined the objectives of the Akademi thus—"This precious heritage of dance, drama and music is one which we must cherish and develop. We must do so not only for our own sake but also as our contribution to the cultural heritage of mankind. Nowhere is it truer than in the field of art, that to sustain means to create. Traditions cannot be preserved but can only be created afresh. It will be the aim of these academies to preserve our traditions by offering them an institutional form."

The Akademi has, therefore, sought to promote research, cooperate with similar academies, encourage exchange of ideas and enrichment of techniques, establish regional centres, revive and preserve folk music, dance and drama, sponsor festivals, and give recognition to meritorious organisations and individuals.

The Awards of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, regarded as the highest national honour in performing arts, have been received by those who have set standards of excellence in music, dance and drama. The Akademi's Fellowship has been conferred today on Mrinalini Vikram Sarabhai, who has won acclaim as a dancer and choreographer, and Girish Karnad, a noted playwright, actor and director. The twenty-four Akademi Awards for 1993 cover the entire range of our performing arts. They include distinguished musicians, dancers and theatre personalities representing classical, traditional and contemporary arts.

Culture is our living tradition which needs to be preserved, propagated and developed. Today, we honour those artistes who by their sensitivity and talents have nurtured this precious heritage of ours. The Sangeet Natak Akademi has of course played a vital role in this regard. May I express my heartiest felicitations to all the awardees.

A Treasure-house of Oriental Culture

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with all of you today at the finale of the Centenary celebrations of the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library.

As repositories of accumulated knowledge, libraries are key to the preservation of our cultural heritage. Their status is as much a reflection of the advancement of a society, as learning is an attribute of an individual. By organising the intellectual inheritance of the past, libraries play an important role in facilitating the spread of knowledge. Using them, we arrive at an understanding of the past, an understanding vital to addressing contemporary challenges. Their contribution to the development of human resources is important and must be so recognised by all of us.

Among the libraries of our country, the Khuda Bakhsh Library has a unique place. Its founder, an eminent bibliophile, was distinguished by a degree of dedication which led him beyond merely building a private collection. He envisaged in the preservation and dissemination of knowledge an important public service. This commitment drove him to acquire a wide range of manuscripts from as far away as Iran and Egypt. The modest collection bequeathed by his father was transformed by Khuda Bakhsh's endeavours to an impressive library, which he gave in trust to the Government. The Library he created became an invaluable source on various aspects of oriental culture, and recognised as an institution of national importance.

In recent years, the Khuda Bakhsh Library has built further upon the legacy of its founder. It has emerged as a leading research library, sponsoring and supporting a wide range of academic activities. Its record in generating awareness in areas of its speciality which reflect the composite culture of India has been creditable. The Library has also acquired a reputation as an institution dedicated to furthering regional academic cooperation. Not envisaging its role purely in traditional terms, it has become a Library with a message, one actively seeking to promote cultural synthesis and harmony.

It is appropriate that the Centenary celebrations of this Library have culminated in an International Seminar on Indic Religions. Sourced mainly from Arabic and Persian manuscripts, I understand that the Seminar will discuss studies by writers, historians, and travellers of the medieval period. I am so glad that an exhibition of Urdu books on Indic religions is being organised on this occasion. This appreciation of linguistic and religious pluralism rejects deterministic attributes to cultural characteristics. It highlights the complex nature of the diversities in our society and refutes the dangerous misconception that language must correspond to a religion or religion to a nationality. In doing so, an approach associated with Abul Fazal and Dara Shikoh, with Al-Beruni and Ibn-Batuta, and exemplified by Khuda Bakhsh himself, stands reaffirmed.

India has a tradition of accepting and supporting diversity in various forms, be it religion, language or ethnicity. Having given birth to numerous faiths, our country has always welcomed the infusion of different streams from outside. As a result, most religions of the world have, in one form or the other, struck roots

in our society. Ours has been not merely a history of tolerance, but of acceptance of diversities.

This history goes back to the era of the *Rig Veda* where the truth was recognized as one, though the ways to it could be many. Our ancient texts have been characterized by a strong degree of eclecticism. The *Gita* reflects this pluralism and variety in belief. Indic religions which emanated thereafter, such as Buddhism and Jainism, contained a message universal in its essence. Their emphasis on humanity, compassion and non-violence further strengthened the secular ethos of India. It was reiterated once again in later religions like Sikhism.

The tolerance of Indic religions is manifest in the advent of other religions from the West. Christianity is believed to have arrived with St. Thomas on the shores of Kerala in 52 A.D. Islam came to us as an accompaniment to Arab traders conducting commerce with peninsular India. As regards Judaism, an authoritative study has noted that unlike other parts of the world, Jews lived in peace and harmony in India over many centuries.

The interaction of religions with each other in an ethos of acceptance produced striking examples of synthesis in our culture. These include the Bhakti movement, Sufism in India and most notably, Sikhism. They all contributed to a growing secular tradition. Our secularism is symbolised by the rock edict of Emperor Ashoka at Shahbazgarhi which states : " One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another, due to devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all others, does injure one's own religion most certainly."

Our open society has always been resistant to parochialism and intolerance. The inter-play of our diversities and interaction with other societies has only enriched our culture. In India's history, the desire to harmonise has generally triumphed over the call to separate. That is how a nation, as varied as ours, came to be created. Today, even as we consolidate our nationhood and progress economically and socially, the challenges of communalism, casteism and regionalism remain. Any compromise with them threatens the unity and integrity of our nation. History, religion, and culture have bequeathed to the people of India a common legacy that is shared by them. No one can lay an exclusive claim to it. Pluralism has been our way of life and must remain so in the future as well.

I am very glad that the Centenary celebrations of Khuda Bakhsh Library has expressed itself in the reiteration of the values of its founder. Understanding and harmony are the basis for our national development. Let us remember Panditji's words in this context — "No Nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action."

V

Mass Media

The Press—a Key Instrument for Social Change

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be present on this occasion, with the *Malayala Manorama* family, in its 104th year of existence. I consider it a privilege to be given the opportunity to dedicate the 104th house under the Housing for Poor Project, and to hand over the 525th house under the K.M. Cherian Memorial Housing Fund.

In the little over hundred years of its existence, the *Malayala Manorama* Group of publications have distinguished themselves in the cause of quality journalism. *Malayala Manorama* has come to represent the values, concerns and contribution of the people of Kerala in the task of building one nation.

Kandathil Varghese Mappillai, who founded *Malayala Manorama* on March 14, 1888, was a remarkable person. He pioneered social reform and laboured unremittingly for the uplift of the weaker sections, and the spread of education. His first editorial in the opening issue of *Malayala Manorama*, on 22nd March, 1890, was on the need for imparting education to the Pulayas. He wrote :

“It is a pity that the landlords oppose the idea of imparting education to the Pulayas. It is high-time they realised that an educated worker will be a better asset than an unlettered one.”

It was in keeping with his sensitivity to such causes and concerns, that Kandathil Varghese Mappillai, also set up a High School for Girls at Thirumoolapuram. Almost ten decades ago, initiatives of this nature were rare.

Varghese Mappillai's successors at the helm of *Malayala Manorama* were men of ability and insight who strove for progress in many sectors of social and political action, inspired by Varghese Mappillai's ideals. Some of the most critical years for the organisation were during the national struggle for freedom.

Malayala Manorama was then in the hands of the redoubtable Mammen Mappilai. In that crucial period, *Malayala Manorama*, appeared to project the voice of the people, and was in the forefront in the formation of the State Congress, the civil rights agitation, the abstention movement and the struggle for responsible government. Even earlier, when the famous 'Malayali Memorial' was submitted to the Maharaja of Travancore in January 1891, appealing for fair and equitable representation of all communities in the public service of the State, *Manorama* had openly led the agitation. It had also played an important role in the 'Nirvathana Prasthanam', an agitation to secure proportional representation in the state assembly, including the Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims.

An event of national importance was the Vaikom Satyagraha of 1924, seeking to open the temples to all in the spirit of the equality and dignity of all human beings. Gandhiji himself came to Vaikom to lead the satyagrahis. *Malayala Manorama* reached Bapu's message to the people in this historic struggle. A leading article in the paper dated 1st April, 1924, proclaimed :

"At a time when the people of India are fighting for equality and liberty, it is paradoxical that the people of the higher castes deny freedom to their own brothers in India on the ground that they belong to the lower castes."

It was Mammen Mappillai, who, as a member of the State Assembly, moved a resolution on Gandhiji's birthday in 1924, on the Vaikom Satyagraha. And in 1936, following the Temple Entry Proclamation by the Maharaja of Travancore declaring temples open to all, the *Manorama* in its editorial of 24th November, 1936, emphatically demanded the removal of "all other disabilities under which the Harijans, labour".

It was inevitable that the *Malayala Manorama* would itself be penalised for the boldness and stridency of its support to the cause of freedom and human dignity. For almost ten years, from September, 1938 to November, 1947, the paper was proscribed and its offices taken over by the police. It was a great sacrifice, but I have no doubt that those who ran *Manorama* knew that the cause for which it was made was even greater. When the paper reopened, perhaps the most befitting comment came from Mahakavi Vallathol Narayana Menon, the Poet Laureate of Kerala:

"The paper was proscribed and its offices sealed by the state authorities. But that seal was looked on as the insignia of honour conferred for services rendered in the cause of the people".

These facts in the history of the *Malayala Manorama* show how well a media organisation can mesh with the imperatives of causes and issues in the larger national interest. These facts prove that for every successful enterprise — and there is no doubt, that the *Malayala Manorama* group is commercially very successful also — an ethical and moral dimension must suffuse all its activities. I consider it very noteworthy, what Mammen Mappillai in his Last Dictum said:

“By God’s grace, *Manorama* is in a position to create and garner a forceful public opinion. This may be used for the good or the bad. But, we should consider it as a public trust bestowed upon us for the selfless service of humanity.”

It is this unambiguous legacy which I think led Mr. K.M. Mathew, the present dynamic Chief Editor of the Group, to conceive of a housing scheme for the poor and physically handicapped, as part of its Centenary celebrations. In my view this is a commendable initiative and sets an example as to how an important occasion may very appropriately be observed, particularly by *Malayala Manorama* which has such a glorious record in the struggle for freedom and the battle for civil liberties and social equality. I would like to express my high appreciation for the scheme, and the meticulous care with which the most needy and deserving have been identified to receive the benefits of the project.

I consider it particularly laudable that the employees of the *Manorama* Group have voluntarily contributed four units to the hundred houses already built by the *Manorama* management. There is, in this gesture an indication too of an exemplary relationship of harmony between the management and workers; I am told that the Group has not lost a single man-day in the last 104 years due to strike or agitation. The K.M. Cherian Memorial Housing Fund, in memory of *Manorama*’s distinguished Chief Editor from 1954 to 1973, is also, in my opinion, an outstanding example of happy employer-employee relations, and a project worthy of emulation by other industrial concerns, not only in Kerala but in India as a whole.

A newspaper or magazine is not merely a collection of paper and print. It acquires a personality of its own and becomes a catalyst for social and political change, an avenue for cultural growth and efflorescence, and a vehicle for reflecting and disseminating enlightened public opinion. In big ways or small it makes an impact on a daily basis. All of us are aware of the gigantic effort

made by *Manorama* during the recent Gulf War to reach out to every Malayali stranded in there, and bring news of his or her welfare to anxious families and relatives at home. But, perhaps some of you may not know that when Pallivasal, the first power project of Kerala, was set up, and some people were superstitious about electricity, *Manorama* came out with a special supplement on March 14, 1940, with pictures and features to prove the usefulness of electricity and the prosperity it could bring. In the field of culture, it was *Malayala Manorama* which took the somewhat unusual step of writing as many as three editorials on the first Malayalam novel *Indulekha* by O. Chander Menon. The great Vallathol's noted poem *Kochuseetha* was serialised in the daily. And Kumaran Asan's *Veenapoovu* (fallen flower) is said to have won acclaim only after being published by *Manorama*. When speaking of culture, I would like to make special mention of the famed literary forum, the *Bhashaposhini Sabha* which brought together the most creative minds like Kerala Varma, Vallathol, Kumaran Asan, Kumaran and many others. The organ *Bhashaposhini* remains todate one of the finest literary journals in Malayalam.

Like the *Bhashaposhini Sabha*, the *Akhila Kerala Balajana Sakhyam* is another initiative by *Manorama*, which gives it its distinctive character. I was listening carefully to the pledge taken by the young children, who are the future of India, and I consider it particularly important that they have pledged to "serve the nation with devotion, preserve, protect and defend the unity of India, and uphold moral and human values above divisive and communal considerations." In these few words we have the key to a great future for our country, and I pray that they with resolution, courage and strength will shape their own and the country's destiny in the most resplendent terms.

104 years is a fleeting moment against the canvas of history, but a long duration for an organisation. For *Manorama* it has been a rich and eventful journey and not without its ups and downs. Today *Manorama* has a combined circulation close to 7 lakh copies a day and a host of other vastly successful publications. More importantly, whether in success or failure, the *Manorama* Group has always sought to define its activities within ennobling and principled parameters.

I would like to once again thank the organisers for having given me the opportunity to be present on this occasion.

I wish the *Malayala Manorama* Group all the very best in the years and decades to come.

Aim of Journalism should be Service

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be present at the inauguration of the Silver Jubilee function of the Ernakulam Press Club.

25 years ago, in December 1968, when the Press Club building was inaugurated by the then Prime Minister, Smt Indira Gandhi, it was the first time that journalists anywhere in the country acquired a club building of their own. That such an event should have taken place in this lovely city and in Kerala does not surprise me at all, for this State was the first in India to attain one hundred per cent literacy. Literacy and the requirement of reading material are two sides of the same coin. Kerala also has a recorded tradition of progressive thinking, of a sensitivity to issue of civil liberties, political justice and social equality. Such ideas and ideals require an organ for dissemination, projection and propagation, and it is entirely understandable therefore that Kerala has the largest numbers of newspapers, weeklies and periodicals. I am told that, at the last count, the State had as many as 143 registered newspapers, 135 weeklies, 124 fortnightlies and 516 monthlies.

It was a rainy day in June, 1847 that saw the birth of Malayalam Journalism, when eight cyclostyled sheets in demi-octavo size were brought out from a Press at Illikunnu, near Tellicherry. It is a tribute to the essential unity of our country, and evidence of the manner in which over the ages, people and ideas transcending regional and state barriers have influenced our thinking and institutions, that a Gujarati gentleman, Devji Bhimji, was the first to start a printing press at Cochin in 1865, and bring out *Keralamitram*, the first newspaper in the Malayalam language. Since then, from these fledgling beginnings, the growth of the Kerala Press has been most impressive.

To my mind, there have been two distinguishing features of the Press in Kerala. The first is the number of stalwarts it has nurtured, men who were giants in the field of journalism, and who became legends in their own life-time for their contribution in

building public opinion and institutions on positive lines and to the evolution of the State of Kerala itself. The second, and this is related to the first, is the consistent involvement of the Press in Kerala with larger issues and concerns, such as, literacy and cultural efflorescence, social justice and civil rights, and, above all, the struggle for political freedom. In recent times, all those who read newspapers, have been familiar with such names as Abu Abraham, Pothan Joseph and the late Edatata Nararyanan and G.K. Reddy. But when I think of the Press in Kerala, the name of Swadeshbhimani Ramakrishna Pillai, who was banished from Travancore for his fearless writings, also comes to my mind; I think too of Kandathil Verghese Mappillai, the founder of *Malayala Manorama*, and of his revolutionary efforts to secure social justice for the weaker sections and the downtrodden; I recall the crusading journalism of 'Kesari' Balakrishna Pillai, and the patriotic fervour of K.P. Kesava Menon, who founded the *Mathrubhumi*, and played a pivotal role in the formation of the Indian National Congress in Kerala. There are so many others deserving to be placed on a pedestal - C.V. Kunhiraman, the founder of *Kerala Kaumudi*, Muhammad Abdul Rahman Sahib who started *Al-Ameen* from Calicut in 1924, *Mitavadi* Editor Moorkotu Kumaran, 'Sahodaran' Ayyappan—I could go on and on—that the list would read like a veritable scroll of honour and courage.

These great men helped give shape to the times they lived in. There was a sense of reawakening in India and a flux of new ideas and a new hope and vision. The struggle for freedom and Independence from colonial yoke was fast gaining momentum. These were turbulent days, full of a heady idealism, and a passionate belief in the dream of a new India. The doyens of journalism in Kerala were suffused by this new ideology and were at the forefront of the struggle; naturally, their actions and beliefs became invaluable inputs in the growth and evolution of the Press, not only in Kerala, but in the country as a whole. The deportation of Swadeshbhimani Pillai in 1910, the banning of *Kesari* in the 1930s, the confiscation of the properties of *Malayala Manorama* in 1938, and the arrest of *Mathrubhumi* Editor, K.A. Damodra Menon for his support of the Quit India Movement in 1942, are but some landmarks in this history which will always be recorded in golden letters when we speak of India's struggle for freedom, and the contribution the Press in Kerala made towards that goal.

The past and the present are integrally related. From one grows the other. We need to sometimes pause and evaluate what

has been the quality and content of this perennially unfolding continuum. It has been almost 150 years since the first newspaper came out in Kerala, and 25 years since the inauguration of this Club.

The power and impact of the media cannot be underestimated today, in India as a whole, and much more so in Kerala, where there is full literacy, and the number of publications, so many, that so it is said — this is one State where you do not need to borrow a newspaper.

Amidst this growth, a thought comes to me; we have to bear in mind the important contribution that can be made to such basic issues as the fostering of moral and ethical values in society, the strengthening of national integration, unity and solidarity. I am reminded of what Bapu said : "The sole aim of journalism should be service." I am reminded also of the remarkable Last Dictum of the late K.C. Mammen Mappilai, who said: "God has placed in our hands a mighty weapon; and hence our eternal vow should be to tirelessly work for the success of fairness, justice and morality."

I would like to mention one issue for special consideration by all of you and indeed by the Press in India as a whole. We have gathered here in a city famous for its temples, churches and mosques. Kerala itself is a symbol and a living example of the coexistence in peace of different faiths and persuasions. Christianity came to its shores as early as 52 A.D. The first mosque was built here around 643 A.D. The Jews had found a hospitable home here in the tenth century. I appeal to the Press to work, to ensure that this track-record of communal harmony is not only preserved, but strengthened and nurtured, in accordance with our time immemorial and emphatic legacy of equal respect for all religions: सर्व धर्म समभाव. I had spoken of this legacy, of our inherited ethos of secularism, whatever be our personal faith—Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Christianity, Islam or Hinduism—in my speech on assumption of Office, and I use every opportunity to reiterate the basic truth of this message. Today, I speak of this issue, in this audience, not only because I am aware of the power of the Press but also because I know that all of you have the commitment and sensitivity to pursue this in the best interest of our nation. Let us remember that the Indian Press has a record of service to the national ethos that evokes pride and a glow of satisfaction. I have mentioned the contribution of the Press in Kerala to the struggle

for freedom, but you are all aware of how, in other parts of the country, men of the stature of Raja Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Pherozechah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Lokmanya Tilak, C.Y. Chintamani, C. Rajagopalachari, and of course, Mahatma Gandhi, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, used the press for imbuing the nation with their ideas on political and social transformation. We need today to consolidate that freedom by strengthening what is best in our social, cultural and political traditions. And I can think of no better ally in this great cause than the Press.

I would like to once again thank the organisers for having invited me to this important event. I wish the Ernakulam Press Club many more years and decades of fruitful existence. My good wishes and blessings will always be with it, and with all of you.

Film Industry Symbolises Oneness of India

I AM HAPPY to be with all of you this evening on the occasion of the 41st National Film Awards function. I extend, at the outset, my congratulations to the various Award winners, whose works of excellence have brought them recognition and honour.

Films have a unique place in our life. They are, obviously, a major source of popular entertainment. They are also an effective medium of education, a powerful vehicle of social change, and an important aspect of mass communication. As the reach of the electronic media extends, the importance of films in all these roles grows accordingly.

Maintaining a balance between entertainment and social relevance, has long been a challenge for the Film Industry. Entertainment without social content is empty, while a social message, without entertainment value, will be heard by few. It has not always been easy to maintain this delicate balance which is so necessary for the good of society.

Films both reflect and promote social change in any country. They have contributed to our five decades of national development. As we seek to open wider our windows to the world, their role will come under greater scrutiny. Today, we are witnessing a debate on the nature of media and entertainment industry appropriate to our cultural context. Amidst the various views on the subject, what is clear is that there is no simple prescription in this regard.

Our films stand to benefit from the upgradation of technologies and the experience of working with film makers from other cultures. Greater competition and more varied choice are advantages, both to the industry and for the public. At the same time, concerns have been expressed about the depiction of values and themes which are alien to our way of life. Proscription is a solution worse than the disease itself. A mature film industry must deal with this problem through self-regulation. Balance and self-restraint are, after all, intrinsic to pluralism. An industry which can shape the thinking of millions must balance its power with its responsibilities.

In strengthening our ties with other societies and cultures, films have an increasingly significant role, projecting as they do our image abroad. Films depict our values and ways, our accomplishments and blemishes, our problems and pride. The very vividness of the medium allows it to transform momentary images into lasting impression. Film makers should therefore give thought as to how each of their endeavours is contributing to a composite image of India.

A mosaic of cultures, languages, religions and ethnicities such as India constantly strengthens the bonds which draw it together. Films are, today, one of the most vibrant forces of national integration. Films in one language are commonly viewed by an audience in another also. Actors and actresses increasingly act in films, not limited to their own language. Film music has cut across narrow divides of every kind. The cultural intermingling that is the characteristic of our film industry symbolises the oneness of India.

In presenting the Awards this year, I am particularly gratified that the highest honour, the Dada Saheb Phalke Award, has been conferred on Shri Majrooh Sultanpuri. Majroohji is an embodiment of our composite culture. The first lyricist to be so honoured, his work in film lyrics, which began with 'Shah Jahan'

five decades ago, has produced an impressive variety in Bhajans, Qawalis, Loris, Ghazals, and love songs. As a noted poet, he has maintained the highest standards while meeting the varied demands of the film world. By drawing on our traditions, he has helped shape a powerful medium of modernization. His work is truly an example for the coming generation of lyricists.

Once again, I congratulate all the recipients of the prestigious National Film Awards and hope that this recognition may inspire them to greater endeavours ahead.

VI

Science and Technology

Science, Technology and Development

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you this evening for the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. I thank the Minister of State for Science & Technology, Shri.P.R. Kumaramangalam, for his thoughtful invitation to me.

I should like on this occasion to extend to the Director-General, CSIR and others who are associated with this great institution, my greetings and felicitations, and I should specially like to express today the appreciation and gratitude of the people of India in respect of the invaluable service rendered by the Council over the last fifty years.

The CSIR has helped take over the great country forward. The talents and resources organised here, the programmes conceived and pursued, and the achievements attained, have strengthened India — at the material, the intellectual and the spiritual planes. This, in all objectivity, needs fully to be perceived, recognised and comprehended. I believe it is important, for all, particularly the members of the scientific community, to bear in mind the totality of the dimensions in which one's existence, values, goals and service, have usefulness and meaning.

Fifty years ago, in 1942, in a period of global strife, when the power of Science and Technology was finding destructive manifestation during World War II, at a time when a nation-wide movement for human rights and dignity, launched by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was being repressed by severest measures, in the darkness of trauma and despair, the CSIR was established — a little light that was to gain in brightness and to prove itself as a mechanism enabling the advancement of our country towards peace, self-reliance, prosperity and happiness.

The vision and leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and his sensitive understanding of national needs, infused the CSIR with a role of far-reaching ramifications. As Smt. Indira Gandhi had said, in her Presidential address at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the CSIR in 1968: "With the advent of freedom my father breathed new life into it, making it into an instrument of national regeneration and progress". Panditji himself had said: "Ever since my association with the Government began I have felt the need for encouraging scientific work and research...my interest largely consists in trying to make the Indian people and even the Government of India conscious of scientific work and the necessity for it". In a speech in the Constituent Assembly on February 17, 1948, while referring to the appointment of the Scientific Manpower Committee, Nehru had said "We attach the greatest importance to the scientific manpower we have, to increasing it and rapidly augmenting it. All this is the real basis, the foundation, that is being laid for future progress". He regarded himself as a 'devotee of science'. Panditji articulated his perceptions in this regard in the Scientific Policy Resolution of the Government of India. It is a document of great relevance and should be read and re-read by all who are associated with the task of national reconstruction. He said: "It is only through the scientific approach and method and the use of scientific knowledge that reasonable material and cultural amenities and services can be provided for every member of the community, and it is out of a recognition of this possibility that the idea of a Welfare State has grown".

Smt. Indira Gandhi's perceptions coincided with Panditji's. At the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Centre she shared her vision: "of a resurgent India, an India struggling to liberate herself from the shackles of poverty and ignorance and to harness the strength and bounty of modern science and technology for the betterment of her people". "What does science mean to various people?" She asked. "The industrialists see science as augmenting production. The farmers look at it as a tool for growing better crops, the average citizen thinks that science will ease the hardship of his daily grind...To me Science stands for a deeper awareness of life in all its many facets."

The vision of the nation's leadership, combined with the knowledge and expertise of scientists of great eminence, account for the CSIR's growth as a leading institution of international significance in the field of science. Apart from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, luminaries like Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Sri Prakasa, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, associated themselves with the CSIR, and scientists of great distinction: Dr. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, Dr. K.S. Krishnan, Dr. K.N. Kaul of National Botanical Garden, Lucknow, Dr. Hussain Zahir, Dr. Atma Ram, to mention only a few, devoted themselves to building the CSIR. The interaction between the political leadership, and leadership in the field of science, led to what Sir C.V. Raman called "The Nehru-Bhatnagar Effect"! Indeed, Shri Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar had, as the first Director of the CSIR, proved in the words of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: "that an eminent scientist can fill the role of an administrator with equal distinction". These great men of science gave further impetus to the work contributed to by scientists of the order of Ramanujam, J.C. Bose, S.N. Bose, Meghnad Saha and Birbal Sahni.

Through dedicated work attuned to national priorities, the institution has gained in strength, compass and performance. The Council had started with two institutions — the National Chemical and the National Physical Laboratory initially located in the Delhi University Campus in 1947 and today has an infrastructure of 39 major laboratories and 80 field centres spanning the nation: from the regional Research Laboratory at Thiruvananthapuram, to the CSMCRI in Bhavnagar, the Regional Research Laboratory in Jammu and the Regional Research Laboratory at Jorhat. I have referred to these, among the other laboratories, to signify the national approach of the CSIR and its contribution in every part of the country. It is a matter of pride that the institution has today almost seven thousand scientists working in diverse fields of science and technology, and registering very noteworthy advances in a number of directions each day. I often refer to the frontier areas of research, which provide the technologies of the future, that engage the CSIR's attention; — areas such as super conductivity which could revolutionise the power and transportation industry, work being done in regard to problems concerning the environment and the ecological balance, exproation of poly-metallic nodules in the sea-bed in the central Indian Ocean, the Antarctica expedition, cellular and molecular biological research, the field of pharmaceuticals, particularly life saving drugs, initiatives relating to petro-refining processes, agro-chemicals, bio-technology, food processing, aeronautics, and material sciences.

We are proud of these achievements and the work being pursued with such dedication as would contribute to the advancement of our nation in the material dimension, build self-reliance

and win international recognition of the excellence of India's scientific community in the service of human well-being.

I am aware that the CSIR has many other extremely important initiatives underway concerning subjects of direct relevance to the task of improving the quality of life of the people of India, of better utilisation of national resources, initiatives to harness more fully the energy potential of the sun, of ocean currents and waves, lightening, and many other endeavours having a bearing on combating disease, poverty and ignorance.

But another dimension also exists in which you contribute in a strategic sense, in a way which concerns the intellectual capacities and environment for our people. I refer to the positive influence that the CSIR has and can increasingly exert by enhancing science-consciousness, in our country — among the children, the youth, in the universities, and in all walks of national endeavour. The instilling and nurturing of what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called 'the scientific temper' — is a matter of the first importance. Panditji had referred to the need to "build scientific temper, the scientific approach to life's problems". He said: "Unless we gradually start to function more and more according to the scientific temper, the advance we make may not be wholly good. Science is not merely training to do a job but training to think in a particular way. That is highly important. It is not unusual for a competent scientist to be not so much of a scientist outside his field of knowledge and not to apply the scientific temper in other aspects of life".

I would draw your attention to the fact that the Constitution of India itself contains a provision, in Part IV(A): Article 51 A. It specifies the Fundamental Duties of every citizen and mentions the duty to develop scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of enquiry and reform. The CSIR's contribution towards inculcation among the Indian people of scientific temper should not be underestimated, and this, in my view, represents a dimension to which also the CSIR can make a very notable contribution in the years to come. The effort should be to encourage, enable, inspire and kindle the scientific approach and to aim at a perspective in which institutions in the field of industry, agriculture and education universities, colleges and schools as also in allied sectors perceive the value of science, of science-consciousness, scientific temper, the scientific approach, the scientific method, as surpassingly beneficial for the purpose of individual, social and national well-being.

This leads me to the third dimension of the achievements and of future perspectives concerning the CSIR, namely the spiritual plane. I am one of those who believe that science and spirituality are perfectly compatible, — are indeed elements of the same. We have an ancient heritage of thought which spells out this conception very beautifully. “ज्ञानं विज्ञानं च” constitutes a concept which has been our own for centuries and its validity has been expressed by great and brilliant thinkers from the time of Adi Sankaracharya and much earlier. We have to see science as leading to Truth “शास्त्र प्रयोजनम् तत्त्व दर्शनम्” and the purpose underlying things of the spirit and of material forces as being in the same direction. It is here that one recognises the inner meaning of spirituality in the age of science, or the influence of science on the spiritual ethos of humanity. This is best noticed when one becomes conscious of the importance of service towards attaining human happiness at its highest plane and to see the quintessence within every material or intellectual endeavour in the perspective of the spiritual satisfaction that it would ultimately provide. I feel that the greatest scientists have also experienced the greatest degree of wonder as to how natural laws came into existence, how they operate and about the secrets of materials and forces that comprise the physical existence and transformation of matter. Such wonder is important for it inspires a brilliant mind to search for Truth and the effort involved gains meaning when it is related to social purpose and service. The scientific community and scientific establishments in India have a great role to play in the years and decades ahead in utilising the dimension and spheres of science for human happiness.

So there are these three dimensions — the material, the intellectual and the spiritual — in which the CSIR and, indeed, the scientific community in India, have made an immense contribution, and the nation would naturally expect much more in the years to come.

I should like to congratulate the winners of the awards announced today for distinction in scientific attainment. A challenging task is before them and I know that they would approach their work in a spirit of service and utilise their talents, resources and energy towards the goals the nation holds dear, goals illumined by our national values and heritage of thought.

Let us ever bear in mind that the needs, the anxieties, the aspirations of the common men, the masses, the people of India,

have to be ministered to, and all that is undertaken by the CSIR should have a direct focus on, and relevance to, this priority.

Some words of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi come to mind. In his address to the Science Congress Session in 1947, Bapu had said: "For a hungry man or hungry woman, Truth has little meaning. He wants food. And India is a hungry starving country, and to talk of Truth and God, and even of many of the fine things of life, to the millions who are starving is a mockery. So, science must think in terms of the few hundred million persons in India". That was over forty years ago when a nation impoverished by prolonged colonial rule was near the threshold of a life of freedom. But there is a certain timeless appositeness of the thought expressed by him. His words made a deep impression on me and I felt I should share them with you on this occasion.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and its corps of scientists have served India with distinction these fifty years. I pray for their continued success in the years and decades ahead.

Technology for Growth

IT GIVES ME great pleasure indeed to be with you for this dedication ceremony of the Central Research and Training Laboratory of the National Council of Science Museums, Calcutta. I am particularly pleased because the object of this training laboratory is the inculcating of a spirit of enquiry and rationality amongst our people, particularly the youth.

It is heartening to note that the National Council of Science Museums has been instrumental in the establishment of fifteen science centres in different parts of the country during the last four years. I would like to compliment all who have been associated with this endeavour. It is laudable that you have been able fully to commission this Central Research and Training Laboratory,

Dedicating the Central Research and Training Laboratory of National Council of Science Museums, Calcutta, 13 March 1993

which promises to facilitate a quantum jump in efforts to provide formal and non-formal science education.

I am happy that the National Council of Science Museums operates at four tiers—the national, the regional, the district and the school levels. While centres at the national level at Calcutta, Bangalore, Bombay and Delhi are intended to focus on the larger and even international canvas of heavy engineering, energy, the global environment, nuclear science, space applications, micro-electronics and bio-technology, the regional and district level science centres are to concentrate on the day to day problems of local interest in agriculture, agronomy, public health, nutrition, small scale industries and environment control. School science centres are being organised with two-pronged activities—for improvement of science education in schools, as well as for initiating community development programmes as a part of social awakening.

It is commendable indeed that the National Council of Science Museums is emphasising outreach programmes beyond the four walls of science museums and centres. I am informed that large 'museobuses' are continuously on the road, holding exhibitions in interior villages on matters relating to everyday rural life. Exposure-oriented training is imparted to farmers, landless tribals, village housewives, school dropouts, handicapped persons and cottage industry workers. Creative activities are organised for school children and science teachers in the form of science fairs, science seminars, nature study camps, industrial demonstrations, computer training, telescope-making and sky observations, astronomy education through mobile planetaria, design competitions and various other programmes while the people's science movement is encouraged through science marches, science dramas, popular demonstrations, and film and video screenings.

In the aggregate, these efforts should certainly help in increasing the scope and ambit as well as the coverage of the educational programmes and outreach activities of the science centres all over the country.

We are all aware of the vital role that science and technology must play in the economic development of a country. To this end, educational institutions, Research and Design laboratories, industries, and field organisations, must need work, hand in hand to

ensure proper utilisation of science and technology for betterment of life and transformation of society. The institution of the science museum contributes to this overall development by linking all such institutions directly to the people.

I am reminded here of something that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said at the inauguration of one of our leading museums, the Visvesvaraya Industrial and Technological Museum, at Bangalore in July 1962. Nehru said: "A museum should be ... a living thing which evokes pictures to your mind of the past, of the present and of the future. The type of museum I would like to have would show the growth of technology and science, transport, communications and many other things which are important in modern life."

Our great national leaders had implicit faith in the role of science and technology as an instrument for the development of our country. During the struggle for freedom, the prospect of future generations of Indians being enabled to lead a life of security, progress and prosperity, sustained many who stood unshackled in prison. It was all done to see that India's children and the youth may be happy.

The science museums and science centres operating in our country help greatly to inculcate the wherewithal of progress by developing a scientific temper and a spirit of enquiry among our children. It is most essential that parents and teachers bring children to such museums. As Panditji said in 1961: "I would not very much mind if no adult came to the museums, because his mind is made up and is not always capable of learning much; but in the formative period of childhood and youth, it is essential that people should come to museums and learn. Their minds will be affected by the objects which they see there. I should like this aspect of education through the museums to be developed."

People often refer to the concept of "scientific temper". Let us appreciate its full meaning. Scientific temper is required not only to promote economic development, but also social development; to promote material and, equally, spiritual upliftment.

The application of scientific temper should not be confined to laboratories and technical institutions. Scientific training and the scientific temper which we seek to inculcate, should teach us to apply reason and logic in every sphere of life : to live human

issues, particularly the way in which we think, live and relate to society.

When malefic influences work to rouse emotions or spread narrow thinking, reason and reasonableness are essential to safeguard harmony and balance in society. Scientific temper is of the essence for building a stable, progressive society capable of attaining prosperity and happiness.

Seen in this perspective, your efforts to take science and technology to the grass-roots are a most valuable contribution. Your museums depict the present state-of-the-art in science and technology to our people, the young and the old, and go beyond towards the future. This is a living link established between scientific institutions and the user public at large, as may carry the fruits of scientific research from the laboratory to the farm fields and hamlets of our rural millions. But even more important, your efforts accelerate the propagation of scientific literacy in the country, building up scientific temper in the community, and kindling a creative spirit in young minds. Through innovative, inter-active exhibitions and presentations, you can impulse our youth on to the scientific path, producting a peoples' science movement and the ascendance of reason and creativity in our society. That must be our goal.

With all this in mind, I am delighted to dedicate the Central Research and Training Laboratory to the Nation. I am sure this laboratory will provide a major thrust towards escalating the science centre movement, enhancing science literacy, promoting scientific temper in its fullest sense in our country and igniting in millions the energy to work for a better future.

I extend my greetings to all who are associated with this important endeavour and wish every success in the months and years ahead.

Enhance Investment in Technical Education

IT IS A great pleasure for me to be with all of you on this very special day, your Institute's Annual Convocation. Coming to Kharagpur, I was reminded of a phrase Panditji was fond of using 'Temples of the new age' which struck me as a very appropriate description of Indian Institutes of Technology. These Institutes, their teachers and students, their output and contribution, symbolise our nation's quest for modernity and striving for excellence. They reflect our technological aspirations and help build up a cadre of talent responsible for our nation's progress. Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, in particular, has a special place as the first of these reputed modern day temples of learning.

Those graduating today have the exhilarating prospect of a challenging profession before them. You have the necessary qualifications, the capability, and perhaps an element of good fortune to have studied in one of the nation's premier technological institutions. The quality of education you have received and the resources lavished on you has few equals in our country. It is, therefore, appropriate that as you graduate, the pride in your accomplishment should be matched with a sense of responsibility to the society which has made it possible.

Young engineers and technologists of present day must bear in mind that they are heir to a rich tradition of learning from times immemorial. Various excavations have shown that thousands of years ago our ancestors possessed a wide range of technologies from town planning to copper and bronze usage and solid wheeled carts. Our ancestors had the capability to build dockyards as far back as four millenniums ago. Our ancient literature is replete with scientific and technological concepts of a very high degree of sophistication : astronomical theories, natural laws, environmental concerns, the atomic nature of elements and the decimal system are but few of the examples. The mathematical contributions associated with Varahamihira, Aryabhatta or Bhaskara indicate the level of intellectual advancement at their

time. The march of history has as its inevitable accompaniment the progress of technology. India made immense contributions in this regard. Our architecture and construction skills were famous, as were other activities impinging on the evolution of civil society. I do not seek to romanticise the past but to recall a legacy which reminds us that knowledge and its application to life have been traditionally viewed as part of a greater totality, and the Indian mind is second to none in the field of science and technology.

It is this intellectual inheritance, so eloquently summed up by the ancient precept 'learning is that which liberates from poverty, ignorance and prejudices' which the leaders of independent India drew upon when they charted out a national science policy. Panditji, whose role in this regard was critical, envisaged in the establishment of scientific and educational institutions the basis for building a society responsive to the requirements of its people and as providing key instruments for long awaited social changes. In 'The Discovery of India', he saw India as a country "abundantly supplied with everything that makes a country rich, and yet her people are very poor". He says, "India has the resources as well as the intelligence, skill, and capacity to advance rapidly. She has the accumulated cultural and spiritual experience of ages behind her. She can progress both in scientific theory and the applications of science and become a great industrial nation". In Panditji's vision, the solution lay in developing our scientific capabilities for "there is no visible limit to the advance of science, if it is given the chance to advance". Our freedom fighters nurtured the vision of leading the nation to the frontiers of science and technology, not only for the sake of knowledge, but also for its larger consequences. This IIT, located at a former detention camp of our freedom fighters, is especially symbolic of their hopes and aspirations for the future.

Science has an ethical and moral basis and is to be evaluated by the criteria of the end which it serves. In India, there is the task of improving the living standard of the vast majority of our countrymen. I am confident that each one of you stepping out of the portals of this great institution would be imbued with the same sense of purpose and mission which led to the establishment of the Institutes of Technology.

Your generation can fortunately take for granted a lot which ours could not. It is with considerable effort and cost that a

modern state has been built after emerging from two centuries of colonialism, aggravated by the trauma of the partition of the country. The India we have sought to create is envisaged as a secular nation, based on democratic ideals, committed to social justice and reflecting the harmony and synthesis of its diverse cultures. Parochialism, divisiveness and chauvinism have no place in this vision. Panditji used to refer in this context to the importance of the scientific temper, to a scientific approach to the problems of life. In his address to the Science Congress in Calcutta in 1957, he defined the scientific spirit as "essentially one of tolerance, one of humility, one of realisation that somebody else may also have a bit of the truth". At a time when the fabric of our society is being stretched by narrowness and intolerance, you have the responsibility of shaping the broader thinking and philosophy which can be the basis of our composite nation.

Each generation of students stepping out into society confront new problems and seek to fashion their own answers. In India, there is no shortage of challenges, be they scientific or philosophical, intellectual or technological. These are shaped as always by the state of the nation, but are increasingly influenced by developments the world over. We have to come to terms with the fact that the rate of technological change in the world today is such that it is no longer possible for any nation to remain isolated behind walls of protectionism, political or economic. Indeed there can be no more apt an illustration than the role of information technologies in heralding the sweeping political changes which took place at the beginning of this decade in Europe. Saying that the world is getting smaller has a real underlying basis to it and is particularly so in your profession. If India is to contribute to and receive the benefit of global technological advances, that will be possible only if our participation in the global economy and technology is vigorous and whole hearted.

A decision on our part to participate more extensively in the global economy is a matter which cannot be approached lightly, affecting as it does the lives and livelihood of millions. We have to honestly assess our strength and weaknesses and accurately define our problems in order to find optimum solutions. The four decades of sustained industrialisation and economic planning have brought our national economy to a point where we have the strength to stand on our own feet. It is now possible for us to deal with other nations on equal terms. We have established basic

industries and the necessary infrastructure. We have nurtured our private sector to a degree where it can shoulder a greater share of responsibilities. In foreign trade, we have comparative advantages which can be exploited to the fullest. India has the third largest pool of trained scientific manpower in a world where science and technology have an ever growing influence on daily life. The nation today has the capability, talent and confidence to compete in the global arena and we seek to fashion a step by step strategy to achieve our goals in this regard. The policy of economic liberalisation and reform being undertaken thus represents a self acknowledgement of our own maturity. We have economically, industrially and technologically come of age and must not hesitate in accepting this fact. We are ourselves players today and not simply the playing field. This is the legacy which you have inherited and how best you use it, is the challenge before you.

Undoubtedly, in a world of sovereign states and competing interests, true globalisation and equitable sharing of benefits of scientific advances is an ideal. Scientific and technological applications are, after all, linked closely to economic and commercial considerations and will naturally be used to the advantage of some and disadvantage of others. There will also remain security implications of technologies which lead to discrimination in their sharing and proliferation. We have had the experience of how in space technology, atomic energy, communication and computer technologies, attempts have been made to erect and perpetuate global technology controls which in effect deny benefits to the majority of nations. Such problems will have to be faced. Therefore, even though we have embarked on a quest for greater economic participation in world affairs, our determination to strengthen our national scientific and technological base remains undiluted. So too does our commitment to resist discriminatory frameworks for technology controls, particularly when they impinge on our national security. Indeed, it is only through building up our national capabilities that India can have an effective voice in the world and help shape a common future which will reflect our ideals and principles.

In our country, the Indian Institutes of Technology should be in the forefront of meeting this challenge of globalisation. Your very motto: योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्—is a commitment to strive with utmost efficiency in pursuit of our national objectives. Each of the Institutes reflects in their own way the benefits of international

cooperation in science and technology. They have already established a network of academic contacts and exchanges. Their alumni scattered over different parts of the world, continue to maintain close ties with their parent institutions. In the changed situation, it is imperative that these linkages are strengthened for the Institutes to keep pace with technological developments elsewhere. An era of open economy and greater competition will lead to stricter criteria by which scientific and technological institutes will be evaluated. Their contribution to new knowledge, their ability to innovate and synthesise, and their relevance to important issues of our time, will all determine their reputation. As multidisciplinary institutions, much is expected of the alumni of Indian Institute of Technology in this regard. They should remember that more than two thousand years ago, our great sage Thiruvalluvar in his world famous immortal classic *Thirukural* declared—

“The great are those who can achieve rare feats. The lesser are those who cannot”.

The bond between research and production is the hallmark of a modern economy and indigenous technological advancements can sharpen our competitive edge. Industry too, should contribute to the development of academic institutions, particularly where funding is concerned. The recent policy which allows a weighted tax deduction of 125 per cent of contributions made to Indian Institutes of Technology, scientific laboratories and universities is a welcome step. I hope that this would encourage a greater investment in technical education and research in the country.

On the occasion of this Convocation, I take the opportunity to express appreciation of the contribution which this Institute and its distinguished faculty has made to the building of modern India. To those graduating today, I convey my congratulations and express my expectation that they would, in their work and in their life, remain worthy of the ideals of this Institute. As qualified professionals, I am certain that they would contribute their utmost to society and aspire to be good citizens. I can do no better than reiterate the advice one of my august predecessors, Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave on this very occasion 35 years ago:

“It must never be forgottenthat rights can after all flow from duty well performed”.

If that is your guiding principle in life, you will be successful

in building a better India and have the satisfaction of having done your duty well.

Remember the exhortation of Swami Vivekananda: Have faith in yourselves, faith in your country and faith in God.

I wish you all a happy and purposeful life in the service of India.

Check Environmental Degradation

WE ARE HONOURING today individuals and organisations who have made significant contribution to the cause of environment improvement, afforestation and pollution control in the country. Two of these awards are named in honour of Indiraji, who did so much to raise environmental consciousness within the country and outside. Her role in promoting afforestation and halting the Silent Valley Dam project to save, one of the country's last rain forests, is known to all of us. Indiraji focused global attention on the relationship between environment and development at the 1972 Stockholm Conference on Human Development. She highlighted the link between environmental conservation and elimination of poverty, the global inequalities in the consumption of natural resources and the sources of environmental pollution. Two decades since Stockholm, her views were vindicated at the 1992 Earth Summit at Rio which saw the removal of poverty as one of the most important components of any strategy aimed at protecting the environment.

The National Award for Pollution Control is to recognise and reward industrial units which go beyond the compulsions of regulatory provisions by achieving pollution lower than that prescribed by the Government. Such voluntary acts deserve to be publicised and are worthy of emulation.

Environmental deterioration is an intrinsic aspect of under-development. In a country like India, with a large population and

Presenting Indira Gandhi Paryavaran Puraskar, Vrikshamitra Awards and National Awards for prevention of Pollution, New Delhi, 6 August 1994

chronic poverty, deriving optimum results from our limited resources is the greatest challenge before us. In looking to development models, let us learn to avoid the destruction of natural resources which has accompanied the building of affluent societies. Millions in our country have a simple and sustainable life style. As we progress to modernity, let us preserve the good from our traditions.

Sustainable development is a development process that is environmentally sound, people-centered and participative. It stresses the need to regenerate the natural resources base to increase the long-term productivity, and to protect the environment, both locally and globally. It puts people, particularly the poor, first, and aims to meet their basic needs. And it can only be achieved with the broadest participation of the public.

Environmental consciousness must thus percolate to the grass roots. To be part of our everyday life, its economic benefits must be visible. From a slogan, it must become a habit. The Ministry of Environment and Forests has the responsibility for the creation of environmental awareness among our people. But they are only the catalyst and to achieve success, must be supported by the vast network of NGOs and enlightened individuals in this crucial task. NGOs and individuals can often reach people more effectively and at a lower cost than Government officials or agencies.

Concern for environment is as old as human existence. The Prithvi Sukta of the *Atharva Veda* states :

यत्ते भूमे विखनामि
क्षिप्रं तदपि रोह तु।
मा ते मर्म विमृग्वरि मा
ते हृदयर्षिपम्॥

O' pure Earth, may that we utilise your soil well
without causing you injury or harm and disturbing
any vital element in you.

Friends, let us not allow the mirage of progress through blind emulation of others to inflict irreparable damage on ourselves. We must fashion our development according to our own national character and genius. In doing so, we will be renewing faith in ourselves and safeguarding our interests.

On behalf of the nation, I convey sincere appreciation to all the Awardees today. May their example inspire others to spread the message of protecting, conserving and promoting our environment.

Harness Biotechnology for Human Advancement

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the XVI Congress of the International Union for Biochemistry and Molecular Biology. To all you distinguished scientists who have assembled here from different parts of the world today, I convey my greetings. The meeting of the Congress in India is a recognition of the quality of scientific work being done in this country and will undoubtedly encourage the efforts of Indian scientists in addressing vital problems of health and disease, food and nutrition, and technology and environment.

Indian science is heir to a rich tradition of learning for thousands of years. As one of the oldest civilisations, a wide range of technologies emanated from our people which have contributed to the development of human society. In fields as diverse as mathematics, metallurgy, medicine and astronomy, our ancestors made immense contributions, both conceptually and concretely, which retain their relevance to the present day. But somewhere in the tumultuous course of history, we slipped into a slumber from which the nation awoke only half a century ago. History has almost begun anew for us, as we discover ourselves again.

The challenges of poverty, ignorance and disease which we confronted at the time of Independence were truly staggering. But there was a national consensus to invest in science and technology which alone was seen as having the capability to deal with these inherited problems and resurrect the wealth of our impoverished nation. The immediate post-independence era was an exciting period when ambitious schemes were undertaken. The guiding force was the vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to whom India is deeply indebted for the multi-faceted growth of its scientific and technological institutions.

The Scientific Policy Resolution which Pandit Nehru moved in Parliament in March 1958 summed up our objectives : to foster the promotion and sustain the cultivation of science and scientific

research; to recognise research scientists as an important component of the strength of the nation; to encourage scientific programmes to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry; to allow creative talents to find full scope in scientific activity, and to ensure that the people of the country benefit from the application of scientific knowledge.

The decades which have passed since Independence have witnessed a steady growth in our scientific and technological capabilities. Its impact on the welfare of our people has been visible. Various parameters of human development such as life expectancy, literacy and health indicators emphasise the strides which we have made. More significantly we are feeding a population which is two-and-a-half times of what it was when we won Independence. Not only are the benefits of science and technology undeniable, but it is increasingly clear that technology is today the real motor force for economic growth and prosperity.

In this vision of science applied to the benefit of humanity, the role of biotechnology has been steadily gaining importance. Modern methods of gene technology, tissue culture and downstream processing have yielded economically and socially useful products. Our enhanced knowledge about the functioning of a living cell has been harnessed to develop modern methods of diagnosis, protection and cure against human, animal and plant disease. We can today talk about plants that can grow in saline soil and areas of low rainfall; about plants that can make their own biocides to protect themselves against pests; envisage plants and micro-organisms that can fix or take up nitrogen from the atmosphere, thus minimising the use of chemical fertilisers; contemplate micro-organisms making human insulin and blood products through genetic engineering methods; propagate embryo transfer technology to generate high yielding cows and buffaloes; and produce genetically engineered micro-organisms which can clean up sewage and oil spills and leach out metals from low grade ores.

Indeed, if one were to identify the main challenges facing humankind, biotechnology is appropriate to deal with many of them—expansion of agriculture, advancement of medicine and protection of the environment. For a country like India, these are national priorities, and in dealing with them, Biochemistry and Molecular Biology have particular relevance.

That biotechnology can revolutionise agricultural production has been evident by three decades of experience in the develop-

ment of hybrid plants with desirable characteristics, such as disease resistance, climatic suitability and high yield. Known in this country as the Green Revolution, it has been used both to strengthen traditional production systems and to diversify agricultural production. Insect biochemistry offers us the possibility of dealing effectively with problems associated with locusts, fruit flies, rice moths etc. Biochemistry has also had a significant impact on food research, such as the development of multi purpose foods. Medical biotechnology too has made advancements, though its impact on the lives of our population has been less dramatic. New insights have been gained into treatment of Kalazar, Cholera, Tuberculosis, Hepatitis, and Malaria. Where environmental biotechnology is concerned, the production of biocides and biofertilisers, treatment of effluents, measures to control industrial pollution, tissue culture propagation of fast growing trees, and the biological leaching of minerals are beginning to make significant headway.

Even as we realise the benefits of technology, its advance has made us all increasingly conscious of its capacity to undermine the environment irreversibly, unless we take appropriate preventive measures. Economic development and environmental protection are intrinsic to each other in the long run. Today, when we talk of an appropriate growth strategy for any society, it is generally agreed that this must be technologically sound, culturally compatible, and environmentally positive. In fact, the very concept of sustainable development recognises these conditionalities in the application of technology. Biotechnology has the characteristics to adhere to those parameters which are seen as beneficial to our survival. At the same time, we must remain sensitive to the dangers of loss of biodiversity and the social and economic consequences of the large scale application of these new technologies.

You will all agree that we are temporary guardians of the inheritance that is our planet. Our actions, if judicious, can preserve and even magnify this inheritance. If injudicious, we can become a destructive force. One of the oldest writings of humankind, the Prithvi Sukta — or the Hymn to the Earth, enjoins us thus :

असंबाधं मध्ययो मानवानां यस्या
उदतः प्रवतः समं बहु ।
नानावीर्या ओषधीर्या विभर्ति
पृथिवी नः प्रथतां राध्यतां नः ॥

“May this earth,
whose surface undulates with many gradients,
and sustains an abundant variety of herbs and
plants of different potencies and qualities,
support all human beings,
in all their diversity of endowment,
in mutually supportive harmony and prosperity”.

Diversity and harmony are as critical to nature as to the people who inhabit this planet. Both must be promoted in our long term interest.

India's involvement with Biochemistry goes back to 1921 when the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore started a Department in the subject. From this modest beginning, I believe that there are today eighty Universities and Institutes engaged in teaching and research in different aspects of Biochemistry and about fifty laboratories actively involved in Molecular Biology research. A strong foundation undoubtedly has thus been laid, but building on it requires greater investment of resources. Given the enormous potential of biotechnology to improve our lives, Indian industry should realise its possibilities and come forward to invest more generously in original research. At the same time, the very importance of this technology is such that public policy must continue to scrutinise it and guide its appropriate application. Intellectual property and patent rights can become an obstacle to the proliferation of biotechnology. Its benefits to humanity are too vital for biotechnology to become the victim of narrow commercialisation. It is incumbent on all of us to ensure that the benefits of knowledge which, in this case, has really evolved over centuries, are not unduly restricted.

Your deliberations at this Congress will cover a number of fields — scientific, economic, environmental and sociological — which are all relevant for the welfare of humankind. The knowledge you all have and seek to further gain has the true potential of shaping human destiny. Your endeavours have their own rewards and responsibilities. This awareness will, no doubt, be your guide in the researches ahead. Once again, I convey my greetings to all of you and wish this Congress all success.

Living in Harmony with Nature

I AM HAPPY to be with all of you today to inaugurate the first National Conservation Congress, and to dedicate to the nation, the Indira Gandhi Conservation Monitoring Centre.

The desire to live in harmony with nature was intuitively felt by our forefathers. As human settlements evolved, their thoughts were codified into knowledge. The awareness of the importance of environment to human development is exemplified by the *Yajur Veda*. Its verses refer to the need for man to be in accord with Universe — with the sky, the space, the earth, its waters, and with plants and trees :

दीः शान्तिर् अन्तरिक्षं शान्तिः
पृथिवी शान्तिर् आपः शान्तिर् ओषधयः शान्तिः ।
वनस्पतयः शान्तिर् विश्वे देवाः शान्तिर् ब्रह्म शान्तिः
सर्व शान्तिः शान्तिर् एव शान्तिः
सा मा शान्तिर् एधि ॥

Our temporary guardianship over the resources of this planet was another early realisation. It gave rise to concerns about the impact of human activity on the well-being of our earth. This verse from *Atharva Veda*, for example cautions against causing irreparable damage to the Earth :

विमृग्वरी पृथिवीमा वदामि क्षमां
भूमि ब्रह्मणां वावृधानाम् ।
ऊर्जं पुष्टं विभ्रतीमन्नभागं
धृतं त्वाभि निषीदेम भूमे ॥

The early sensitivity to nature was supported by what we would today term as a sustainable life style. The industrial age however promoted a process of development which caused enormous harm to our environment. Labour and natural resources were treated as inexhaustible. And the plundering of resources led to great wastage. It created a world divided between the rich,

impervious to the damage caused by their life style, and the poor, too deep in the morass of poverty to look beyond immediate survival.

Recent decades have, however, witnessed a growing awareness about the need to reverse environmental damage. The phenomena of global warming and of ozone depletion, the visible loss of bio-diversity and the sight of our shrinking forests have all brought home the seriousness of our situation. The 1972 Stockholm conference was one important milestone in this journey of awareness, and the 1992 Rio Summit another. Today, the protection of our environment and conservation of our natural resources has a central place in the global agenda. Problems have been brought into focus, acting to meaningfully address them is the need of the hour.

At Stockholm in 1972, Indira Gandhi in her address posed this question which has dominated global debate on this issue: "Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters?" She spoke of the need of the daily necessities of tribal people which force them into poaching and despoiling the vegetation. "When they themselves feel deprived," she asked, "how can we urge the preservation of animals? How can we speak to those who live in the villages and in slums about keeping the oceans, the rivers and the air clean when their own lives are contaminated at the source?"

It has taken the world two decades thereafter to conceptually visualize sustainable development as the solution to our environmental problems. It is only now that its global dimensions are accepted and the futility of partial solutions realised. Until environmental consciousness becomes intrinsic to our thinking on development, the world will continue to grope for an answer even as its resources get depleted.

The Rio Summit recognised the need for common but differentiated responsibilities among nations in addressing these vital issues. Since then, we await the commitment of adequate resources in a predictable manner. Our endeavours to affix responsibility for causing pollution have continued. We seek to persuade developed nations, who consume so much of our resources, to accept restrictions. And we emphasise the need for affordable access to environmentally sound technologies. None of these goals are easily realisable. But in the meanwhile, we must strive to put our own house in order so that our commitment to improving the global environment is manifest.

Protecting what we still possess, while laying the ground for regenerating endangered resources, is the priority. In a nation as diverse as India, this has many aspects, beginning from a detailed survey of our flora and fauna, to identification of endangered species, mapping of forestry, creation of biosphere reserves, protection of wetlands, mangroves and coral reefs, conservation of wild life, abatement of pollution and the cleansing of water resources.

These objectives testify to the growing sensitivity in our country to the fragility of our existence. Awareness has led to debate, and debate in turn, to policies and programmes. The National Conservation Strategy, the changes in Forest Policy, and Plan for Abatement of Pollution testify that we are moving in the right direction. But we have just embarked on an endeavour which is enormously complex and challenging, and which requires all our talents, resources and commitment. Government effort, by itself, is not adequate.

To realise the objectives of conservation, it is necessary to involve every section of our society. Sustainable development has to percolate into our very life style. Minimising pollution, avoiding wastage and conserving non-renewable resources must become both personal and public goals. Getting this message across to the people requires mobilisation of public opinion. It has to be reflected in our education to create consciousness in the coming generations. It must take the form of demonstration projects to show our people what can be done. Public debates are necessary to heighten awareness. Professionals in different fields must be motivated to contribute through their individual specialities to the overall cause of conservation. Our industry must be educated about the effects of pollution. They must also fulfil their social responsibilities by contributing resources to this end. Urban planners must factor this into their endeavours. In our villages, the linkage between sanitation, poverty alleviation and environment conservation has to be emphasised. Using renewable sources of energy must become our second nature. As television and radio coverage increase in our country, these media must be used to the fullest. The role of NGOs is particularly vital as they have the access, credibility and commitment to spread the message of conservation.

I am particularly glad that the National Conservation Congress has coincided with the dedication of the Conservation Monitoring Centre. I understand that the Centre will provide vital information support to various conservation programmes. By de-

veloping and maintaining a data base in various fields, it is expected to be a major national facility in the field of environment. It will be critical in improving the management of environment in constantly updating our conservation strategy and in conducting environmental impact studies. It is appropriate that the Centre is named after Indira Gandhi, who did so much to generate conservation awareness in our country.

Conservation and environment protection has so many facets that every step forward in human development can contribute to it. Raising living standards, ensuring clean water and sanitation, imparting education, improving health, expanding access to information can all help to sensitise us to the environment and widen our horizons.

We have commemorated this year the 125th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. One aspect of his multidimensional personality would appeal to all of you : his strong attachment to nature. Bapu cautioned us about the culture of industrialisation and warned against conspicuous consumption. He advocated the use of renewable sources of energy, of bio-gas and organic manure. He used paper sparingly for he saw in this the destruction of our forests. His advocacy of a simple life style is today's message of conservation.

Your deliberations at this Congress touch on issues critical to our future. I convey my best wishes for your success in this vital cause.

VII

Defence

Sentinels of Our Skies

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be amongst you on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Indian Air Force. I extend to all—who form the IAF, and contribute to its vital role in the defence system of our country—my hearty greetings and felicitations.

It is natural for us to remember with deep respect and gratitude, more specially today, the valiant patriots of the IAF who made the supreme sacrifice in the service of our nation. Their devotion, heroism, and excellence in performance of their duty, have helped build the inspiring traditions of the Indian Air Force and have won recognition for its capabilities. Strength, professionalism, valour and dedication are the hallmarks of the IAF, rightly admired by our people and acknowledged in the region.

India stands for peace; and is committed to peace. Peace is essential for India, for countries in our region, and, indeed, for all nations and peoples of the world. The IAF is a symbol of our resolve to preserve and nurture peace; to deter, and if need be, destroy, any external threat to our nation, our values, and the goals of our tasks in national reconstruction. The Indian Air Force has contributed immensely in preserving and promoting the ideals of our great country and our determination to strive ceaselessly for peace and understanding.

Over the last sixty years, particularly after Independence, the IAF has grown from fledgling beginnings into a force of versatile capabilities, manned by the flower of India's youth, intensively trained in peace and tested with resounding success during war. We have to be appreciative of the importance of technological advances in defence systems and equipment, and keep up a constant upgradation in operational capability. Innovation, adaptation, induction and assimilation of new technology is a key requirement. Parliament, therefore, provides the resources, mindful of the pressing needs in other sectors of national growth for a better quality of life for our people.

During successive periods of hostilities, precipitated by external miscalculations, the Indian Air Force has proved itself to the nation, evoking national pride, admiration and gratitude. During times of natural calamity also—Government's efforts, to reach relief to beleaguered people in affected areas, have been greatly assisted by the IAF whose performance, invariably, has been exemplary. Total concentration on perfect performance of duty is a canon that may be learned from the experience of the Indian Air Force.

“कार्यमित्येव यत्कर्म नियतं क्रियतेर्जुनं”

The Diamond Jubilee of the Indian Air Force is an occasion for the nation to express its appreciation of the service rendered, and being rendered, by the IAF. It is also an occasion for re-dedication by every member of this illustrious force, to the sacred task the IAF is responsible for, a task that truly is a privilege to be entrusted with, a task the IAF has performed, and is equipped to perform, with distinction.

I have had the great satisfaction of reviewing a very impressive parade, and would like to congratulate all concerned on the extremely high level of precision and coordination with which all the drill movements were executed.

Once again, I extend my greetings and good wishes to all members of the Indian Air Force and their families. May the Indian Air Force rise from strength to strength, gaining in prowess, attaining increasingly higher standards of operational efficiency, ever vigilant of needs of national security, mindful of its great traditions, the faith and admiration of the people of India, and the great responsibility it bears on its powerful wings.

I wish you brilliant success, a glorious future, and every happiness in the years and decades ahead.

Vigil Must Continue

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I greet you on this important occasion of the presentation of the Silver Trumpet and Trumpet Banner. I congratulate you on your very impressive turn-out and soldierly bearing on parade. Being the seniormost Unit of our Army, you have a crucial role to perform in establishing the noblest traditions as also the highest standards of professional ability and devotion to duty in the service of our Motherland.

This Unit has deservedly achieved outstanding distinction for its qualities of courage and chivalry, loyalty and fortitude, sacrifice and discipline. As the only Unit anywhere to be fully trained as horsemen, paratroopers, tankmen and in ceremonial duties, the President's Body Guard has earned a special position for itself in the quest for perfection. The Unit has forever been in readiness for combat in the defence of the country. As I speak to you, many of your gallant comrades-in-arms are valiantly guarding our borders in difficult and arduous conditions.

Your patriotism and valour have won you the affection, gratitude and esteem of the Indian nation. You have shown exemplary courage in every situation. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said:

“Be brave and all the rest will follow”.

Courage — which constitutes the foundation of many other virtues — and total commitment to the strength and unity of the country are attributes which our people are confident of finding in all ranks of our armed forces. I am certain that your bravery in action and your steadfast dedication will continue to inspire all those who join this Unit in the coming years.

From very early times, we have subscribed to the values of peaceful coexistence and mutual goodwill and of sincere friendship with our neighbours as indeed with people everywhere. But these are difficult times and you have, therefore, to be always ready to defend the dignity and the territorial integrity of your country. It is imperative for each one of you to continually develop your

professional competence and allow nothing to stand in the path of your constant endeavour to achieve higher and higher standards of excellence.

I deem it a privilege to have such a fine body of men as my personal Body Guard. I wish you good fortune and every success in the times ahead, as you receive today the Silver Trumpet and Trumpet Banner. May its clarion call impel you to attain even greater heights in the service of India as she marches forward to peace, progress and prosperity.

Guardians of Our Security

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with all of you on the solemn occasion of the Presentation of Standards to the Paratroopers Training School and the 14 Squadron of the Indian Air Force.

Ambala has a long association with our Armed Forces. The Air Base here is, I am told, the oldest in the country. Both in 1965 and 1971, Ambala was subjected to attacks, which were successfully repulsed. In honouring the Units here today we also recognize and appreciate Ambala's spirit and determination.

The Paratroopers Training School has, over 53 years, rendered exceptional service during war and peace. It has trained over 50,000 paratroopers in these years, with nearly a million paradescents to its credit. The School has an impressive record of participation in various operations since Independence. In 1965, it successfully air-lifted critical elements of air defence to Jodhpur and Jamnagar Sectors. In 1971, the paradropping techniques taught by the PTS culminated in the surprise assault on Tangail. In Sri Lanka, this unit provided continuous logistical support to the IPKF. It also participated in the timely assistance extended to the Government of Maldives in 1988.

Paradropping is considered a vital aspect of military training today. In the President's Body Guard, it is compulsory for all soldiers to be qualified in this regard.

Presenting Standards to the Paratroopers Training School, Ambala, 11 November 1994

The Paratroopers Training School is the proud recipient of 2 Shourya Chakras, 17 Vayu Sena Medals, 3 Vishist Seva Medals and 51 Commendations from the Chief of Air Staff. Its valiant performance during times of war has been complemented by its support to civil administration in times of peace. It has operated missions during the Bhopal gas tragedy and floods in Assam and Bihar. Its quest for excellence includes landing paratroopers at the highest dropping zone in the world. The unit has also promoted adventure sports in the form of Akaash Ganga Sky Diving Team. In all its versatile activities, the PTS has lived up to its motto of साहस कौशलं बलम्।

The 14 Squadron of the Air Force was founded in Ambala in 1951, appropriately on our Independence Day. Beginning with Spitfires, the Squadron has been equipped with the Jaguar since 1979. A frontline Squadron, it represents the strike power of our Air Force. The operational record of the "Fighting Fourteen" began with supply dropping in Ladakh in 1962. In 1965, the Squadron distinguished itself in the air defence role. It made a significant contribution in our Eastern sector during the 1971 operations, carrying out strikes on strategic targets. By operating from the Jessore air field in Bangladesh, the Squadron created history.

The dedication of the Squadron and its meritorious service is testified to by the list of honours and awards. These include 4 Vir Chakras, 2 Vayu Sena Medals and 17 Commendations by the Chief of Air Staff. Its high standards are evident in the 14 Squadron being judged the best fighter Squadron for three consecutive years, and thereafter, as the best supersonic fighter-bomber Squadron. Its training and capabilities reflect its motto : 'बलं जयाय'।

The two units, to which I have had the privilege of presenting Standards today, have a long history of service and gallantry. They have exhibited a high degree of professional competence and dedication to duty. The upgradation of their capabilities is indicative of the strides which our defence forces have made over the years. Through different roles, the PTS and 14 Squadron bear the responsibility of frontline units, with a high state of operational readiness.

India today looks forward to an era of prosperity and progress. The growth of the economy is a national priority. But development is possible only when we are assured of security. India itself stands firmly committed to peace. But this is a peace based on

strength and resolve. It is one dedicated to promoting integration and safeguarding our integrity. Our defence forces, through their capabilities and readiness, reflect our determination to protect vital interests. It is not our wish to encourage others from testing this determination. But were this to occur, I am confident that as in the past, these units and others of our Armed Forces will bring credit to the nation.

I extend my felicitations to all the personnel of the Paratroopers Training School and the 14 Squadron on the occasion of the Presentation of Standards. I also convey my best wishes to your families who constitute such an important support in all your endeavours. I assure you that the nation stands fully behind you and is grateful for your service and sacrifice.

On the Threshold of Challenges

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you this morning to review the Passing Out Parade of the 87th Course. The excellent parade in these beautiful surroundings embody the dignity, discipline and honour of the Indian Armed Forces.

You young men standing so straight and purposeful before me have chosen your profession in life. This profession is one dedicated to the service of the country, summed up by the NDA's motto, "Seva Parmo Dharma". The heavy responsibility of safeguarding India rests on your shoulders. Representing our faith and hope, the nation holds you in great affection.

Third December is an important anniversary in our military history. Twenty-three years ago, this day, India was subjected to an unprovoked attack. Our defence forces responded swiftly and decisively. That day began a chain of events which was to change the very map of our sub-continent. The readiness, capability and

determination of our Armed Forces remain our safeguard against future aggression.

Laying the foundation-stone of this Academy in 1949, Pandit Nehru said : "If circumstances compel us, then we take to the Sword because there is no alternative..." Ours has always been a policy of self-defence. We are committed to peace, but not let our resolve to defend vital interests be doubted. Those who seek to test us will do so at great cost to themselves.

Military operations are increasingly inter-service in nature. Indeed, our success in 1971 was precisely because of the effective coordination between the three Services. Your joint training here is the beginning of a brotherhood which will serve you well in the years ahead. Cultivate and strengthen these bonds accordingly.

Wars of the future will rely on effective application of military technologies. This realisation is reflected in the training imparted to you at NDA, and its constant upgradation. To quote Panditji again : "Enthusiasm and courage are essential for a living nation, but so are training, knowledge and technical competence in today's world". You young men represent the cutting-edge of our military might. Your mastery of technologies is therefore vital.

Security threats too are no longer only conventional. We, in India, have been subjected to sustained terrorism inspired from outside. The Armed Forces have responded admirably to this challenge. By doing so, they have earned the gratitude of the nation for safeguarding our integrity.

You come to this Academy from different parts of the country, reflecting the diversity that is India. By the time you pass out, you are each an integral part of a disciplined fighting force. Your very training represents the national integration associated with our Armed Forces.

As you stand on the threshold of a career of opportunities and challenges, I assure you of the support and affection of the country. May God bestow upon you good luck and be with you in all your endeavours, triumphs and successes.

Safeguarding National Interest

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you on the solemn occasion of the presentation of Standards to your Regiments.

Today, 16th December, is a very important anniversary in our military annals. Twenty-three years ago, a war imposed on us was brought to a successful conclusion this very day; and it ended with one of the largest surrenders since the Second World War.

The 71 and 72 Armoured Regiments both have the distinction of participating in that War. Though they were only 11 months and 5 months old respectively at that time, their performance in combat was extremely creditworthy.

The 71 Armoured Regiment made the successful attack to capture the Dera Baba Nanak Enclave. By doing so, it denied our opponent the capability to launch an offensive towards Amritsar and Gurdaspur. The 72 Armoured Regiment was baptised by fire in the Chhamb Sector where it destroyed 32 enemy tanks.

In the defence of our Motherland, many personnel of both Regiments made the supreme sacrifice. The Regiments earned battle and theatre honours. Their officers and men received gallantry awards and were mentioned in the despatches. Their endeavours are enshrined in our military history.

The parade which we have had the pleasure to witness today was very impressive. The standard of turn out, the precision of drill movements and the parade by the tanks speak for the high morale of the Regiments. Their capabilities to execute any task assigned to them, in peace or in war, is evident. The Standards, a recognition of the distinguished service rendered by these units, should spur them on to greater heights of glory, living up to the mottos of "Shatrunash" and "Vivek, Veerta, Vijay".

India is a land of peace, its hand extended in friendship to all its neighbours. This peace rests on our determination to safeguard national integrity and protect vital interests. A different kind of

war is now being waged against us, a proxy war of terrorism. Our response has to be firm and uncompromising. It is necessary that our defence forces, particularly in this sector, remain ever vigilant. I am certain that when the call of duty comes, the 71 and 72 Armoured Regiments will lead the way.

I extend my felicitations to all personnel of the two Regiments and my best wishes to your families.

VIII

India and the World

Fostering Greater Understanding in Indo-US Relations

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to accept the letters accrediting you as the Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of India. On behalf of the people and Government of India, I welcome you and hope your stay in India is pleasant and productive.

Mr Ambassador, you arrive at an opportune time. The world is poised on the threshold of a new era in its long and turbulent history. The end of the cold war has ushered in new hope and a renewed spirit of cooperation between nations, free from the mindset of cold war bloc politics. In this changed international environment, our two nations have engaged in remoulding bilateral relations on a more mature and meaningful basis. I believe that the two largest democracies of the world recognise that the fundamental values that we share must engender shared interest as well. I am happy that today we have embarked upon that cherished path.

India is making progress on all fronts. A major and bold programme of economic restructuring and liberalisation has been initiated by the Government with the aim of enabling India more fully to participate in world's economy. We acknowledge with sincere appreciation the support extended to our economic policies by the United States in multilateral financial institutions. We look forward to the continued support of the United States and other friends in sustaining the momentum of economic reforms. We intend to pursue the process of economic reform vigorously, at a pace responsive to our developmental aspirations.

We are encouraged by the interest our liberalisation programme has evoked from business circles in the United States. The United States continues to be our largest trading partner and the biggest foreign investor in India. The enormous potential for

Accepting the credentials from Mr. Thomas R. Pickering, Ambassador-designate of the USA to India, New Delhi, 14 August 1992

enhancing bilateral trade and economic and technological cooperation, however remains to be realised. The improving investment climate in India will hopefully further strengthen these ties to mutual advantage.

The United States has been a valued partner in India's socio-economic development since India's Independence. Our collaborative efforts, particularly in the fields of science and technology, agriculture, health, education and culture have helped to improve the quality of life of our people and enriched the scientific and academic communities in both our countries. The increasing restrictions on technology transfers are artificial barriers which we must eliminate through mutual consultation. Bilateral instruments like the Indo-US memorandum of Understanding on high technology transfers can be strengthened to pave the way for greater trade in technology.

Our defence forces are now interacting more regularly. We believe that this interaction should foster greater understanding and friendship on the basis of shared interests and also contribute to overall peace and stability in the region.

India's security environment has been vitiated by the scourge of terrorism. The states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir continue to suffer from the brutal onslaught of terrorist violence with its nexus with the narcotics trade aided and abetted from outside our borders. Innocent, defenceless, children, women and men have fallen victim to terrorism. This has seriously affected life in these States and has put enormous pressure on our security forces. We share your abhorrence of terrorism and appreciate the stand taken by the United States on this issue. Our free and vigilant press, an upright and independent judiciary and an alert and responsible Parliament are the formidable guardians of human rights in India. Our own human rights organizations are independent and operate without let or hindrance. We are committed to uphold human rights which are embodied in the Constitution of India. It is also the duty of a democratically elected Government to act decisively against those who seek to subvert the rule of law through violence and terrorism. We will continue to seek solutions to our domestic problems within the framework of our Constitution and secular polity. There can be no compromise on India's unity and territorial integrity in this endeavour.

Excellency, the end of the East-West divide has opened up a new era in the area of international disarmament. the USA and

Russia are no longer adversaries but partners in progress. We applaud the recent initiatives which have resulted in dramatic reductions in the nuclear and conventional arsenals of both countries. We hope that the lead given by the US and Russia is reciprocated by the other nuclear weapon powers. Our vision is of a world free from all nuclear weapons. We have considerable achievement to our credit in the CWC where India and the US have forged a close dialogue. Ridding the world of chemical weapons has almost been achieved. We must now traverse the road to eliminate all nuclear weapons. India is committed to this goal and will strive towards the achievement of a global and non-discriminatory international regime.

We have often reminded ourselves that our two countries are the world's largest democracies. We are both multi-ethnic, multi-cultural societies rooted in the values of individual freedom, secularism and respect for human rights. We will remember the solidarity and support of American public opinion in the years of our struggle for freedom. yet we had been unable to forge the kind of political relationship which should have been natural between any two countries which have so much in common. Today there exists a will on both sides to improve relations and develop them to their full potential. Yes, we do have differences on some major issues. But I think it is a sign of the maturity of our bilateral relationship that we have not allowed differences in some areas to impede fruitful cooperation in other fields. We now have carefully to nurture and sustain this trend. There is already a greater identity of views on many international issues of concern to both our countries. Excellency, you have seen first hand evidence of this congruence during your tenure at the United Nations. Our increasing cooperation in fields as diverse as narcotics and population control is also a signal of our desire to impart greater depth to our bilateral relationship.

I am confident that during your tenure this relationship will be further diversified and enriched to the mutual advantage of both our peoples. Once again I welcome you to India and wish you all success in your assignment.

Enhance Cooperation and Development

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome Your Majesty and Her Majesty Pengiran Isteri in the midst. We have been looking forward to your Majesty's visit to India for many years and therefore regard this occasion as of historic importance. The visit will go a long way in strengthening the warm and cordial ties existing between our two countries.

Your Majesty, India and Brunei Darussalam truly share close friendly relations with each other. Their geographical proximity is complemented by a common cultural and historical heritage which dates back to many centuries when merchant sailors from India crossed the seas that separate us, for trade and commerce. As recently as 1929, Indians in substantial numbers took up employment in Brunei in the oil sector and related services. It is gratifying to note that Indians settled in Brunei Darussalam are even today contributing usefully in diverse spheres like education, health and public works. Such extensive, cultural interaction over the years has given us many commonalities of language, arts, crafts, attitudes and values which provide a sound foundation for fostering closer bilateral relations.

your Majesty, Brunei Darussalam has made rapid strides under your wise and dynamic leadership. In a short period, it has emerged as a significant factor in the ASEAN and in the Commonwealth. We are also very pleased to welcome Brunei Darussalam as a fellow-member of the Non-Aligned Movement and are confident that the Movement will gain strength from your wise counsel and leadership.

Your Majesty, the last few years have witnessed historic changes in the international scene. Cold war has abated and excellent opportunities have opened up for international understanding and cooperation. North-South inequities however, still remain. It is imperative that all developing countries participate collectively in the endeavour to solve all such outstanding issues

of mutual concern. India like Brunei Darussalam, espouses the establishment of a peaceful, just and equitable international order where the fruits of development are freely available to all irrespective of their race, religion or ethnic origin. We look forward to constructive cooperation with Brunei Darussalam in the realisation of these ideals and objectives. It would be relevant here to recall the use exchange of views held between our late Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Your Majesty at the Commonwealth Summits in the Bahamas (1985), Oman (1986), and Vancouver (1987).

Your Majesty, besides cooperating in multilateral fora, there are also very good opportunities for bilateral cooperation between our two countries. Brunei Darussalam is part of the most dynamic and fastest growing region of the world. India, as Your Majesty is aware, has always had close ties with the ASEAN region. The formal association of India with the ASEAN Group as a Sectoral Dialogue partner is, therefore, an encouraging development. We trust that with the initiation of such a dialogue, there would be added opportunities for closer India-Brunei relations.

India has attained a degree of sophistication in scientific and industrial technologies. We have a pool of skilled and professional people in a variety of fields. Many of our technical personnel are engaged in managing joint ventures in South-East Asian countries, namely, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Philippines. We would be happy to share our experience and provide any expertise that is required in the developmental processes that have been instituted under Your Majesty's direction in Brunei Darussalam. This would be in keeping with the spirit of cooperation and the traditional ties that link our two countries and peoples.

The reforms initiated lately by the Government of India in the areas of trade, industry and foreign investments have opened up fresh vistas for economic cooperation between India and Brunei Darussalam.

We hope that not only Government agencies in both countries, but also, private entrepreneurs will take the opportunities available to impart a significant and meaningful economic content of our relationship.

Your Majesty, we look forward to expanding and exploring mutual cooperation for the benefit of our two peoples. We also seek greater interaction and dialogue on international and regional

issues of mutual concern and to work towards prosperity, progress, peace and stability in the region.

Your Majesty, may I, on behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf, thank you for being with us today. I sincerely hope and wish that your short sojourn in our country will be pleasant and fruitful.

Shared Common Heritage

I AM INDEED pleased to have you in our midst today. Your visit to our country in your capacity as the Chairman of our regional grouping—the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation—provides us with an opportunity to strengthen the bonds of friendship that have existed between our two countries since the dawn of history. The people of India join me in extending to you a most warm welcome.

As two South Asian countries, we are bound by more than just geographical proximity. We share a common heritage. Our historical experiences are intertwined. Our values are broadly similar, derived as they are from a common ethos. Our customs and social structures bear a close resemblance. Religious beliefs and practices in our two countries overlap considerably. In almost every respect there are more things in common between our peoples than there are differences.

The light of Buddhism illumines both our countries. Lord Buddha's message draws our peoples together. The great Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka had transmitted the thought and philosophy of the Buddha in the sub-continent and beyond: to distant countries and peoples. His own son and daughter — Prince Mahendra and Princess Sanghamitra had journeyed to Sri Lanka along with a sapling of the Bo tree to convey the message, philosophy and way of life shown by the Great Master.

Our civilizations have been greatly influenced and inspired by each other. Cultural contacts, the continual exchange of thoughts and ideas, the movements of people, trade and commerce — indeed the myriad forms of interaction that have continued over the ages between our two countries, have contributed to the evolution of a relationship that is in many ways unique.

There are a number of areas in which mutually beneficial cooperation can be strengthened, especially between neighbours. While more and more nations acknowledge the validity of the concept of global interdependence, the interdependence of neighbouring countries is so obvious that it has always been accepted as a basic axiom.

Our economic relations go back a long way. We need, however, to strengthen cooperation in this field in order to tap its full potential in the context of the present day world. Fortunately, however, our trade has significantly increased in the last two years. Efforts are on to identify the various sectors in which cooperation promises to yield substantial benefit to both our countries. We can take advantage of each others' experiences to speed up the economic transformation underway in our countries.

Your Excellency, India is a large country with great diversity. We speak many different languages, follow many different customs and profess many different faiths. This rich diversity adds strength to our national unity. We cherish it for many reasons, not least because it defines the essential quality of our Indianness, our diverse people mingled to build a vibrant civilization.

The enduring quality of India derives a great deal from the manner in which it embraced all segments and imbued them with a sense of common destiny. After we attained Independence, our founding fathers ensured that in keeping with India's time honoured ethos, we were guided by a Constitution that guaranteed equal treatment to all citizens.

In Sri Lanka there is a similar richness in its diversity. We believe that the essential unit that lies behind the diversity needs to be fostered so that the aspirations of all sections of the population can be realised. We look forward to seeing an early resolution of the ethnic conflict that continues to disrupt normal life and poses a threat to the integrity and unity of your beautiful country.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was a sincere attempt to resolve the ethnic conflict— which has sadly now gone on for well over a decade. What is needed is an effective devolution of powers within the framework of a united Sri Lanka in which all citizens of the country would be able to live a secure life with honour and dignity as equal citizens.

Your Excellency, South Asian cooperation has emerged as an important dimension in the foreign policy of each of the seven member states of SAARC. Ours is a grouping of developing countries where large numbers of people live in extreme poverty. We can ill-afford to squander our meagre resources. We need to provide the means of productive employment to the masses in our region. Development must be accompanied by equality and social justice. In our war against poverty, we need to apply new technology, in areas which will have a direct bearing on the lives of the poor, such as in agriculture, rural production, etc.

We look forward to seeing cooperation at the regional level reinforced by strengthened bilateral relations just as improved bilateral relations will, we are confident, engender greater regional cooperation. It is important to get SAARC into substantive areas of economic activity, so that it does not forever remain on the fringe of peoples lives. SAARC is the world's largest regional grouping in terms of population and potential. We are encouraged by the fact that institutional mechanisms are being put in place for supporting enhanced cooperation between the member countries of the region: India is committed to pursuing cooperation in this regard sincerely and at a pace which is acceptable to all the member states.

The world is increasingly moving towards regional grouping. Our region cannot be left behind. In the global context, our strength would depend to a great extent on our capacity for united action. Therefore, we should be able to study and understand the constraints and deal with them in a spirit of collective cooperation.

Your Excellency, in the past few years, the world has changed at an almost bewildering pace. However, while there is much that is welcome in that change for developing countries such as India and Sri Lanka the basic concerns have, by no means, disappeared. Some people who earlier questioned the continued relevance of non-alignment, for example, have begun to recognise that, in many ways the relevance of the Movement has increased. There is

greater need for national Independence and democracy in decision making so that countries may judge international issues on their merits. That is why the Non-Aligned countries reaffirmed their commitment to the principles that underpin the movement at the recent Jakarta Summit. Non-Alignment continues to be a beacon in our foreign policy.

May I conclude by saying that the friendship between our two countries is the product of history, culture and other civilizational contacts down the countries. It is a precious legacy that needs to be cherished. We would be untrue to this legacy if we either take it for granted or fail to update its content and spirit in tune with the demands and imperatives of our times. Our legacy of friendship can and must acquire new dimensions of dynamism and energy so that the relationship is constantly reborn and refurbished.

South-South Cooperation

IT GIVES ME great pleasure in extending to your Excellency and the distinguished members of your delegation a warm and cordial welcome. Although your visit is short, may I wish you a pleasant and fruitful stay.

The history of Indo-Ugandan links go back to the last century when Indians left their shores for East Africa to help in the establishment of a railway network there under conditions of extreme hardship and privation. Thereafter, some of them stayed back and adopted Uganda as their home. Ugandans of Indian origin along with fellow Ugandans struggled and strove to gain freedom from the colonial masters. Then they worked together in the economic development of Uganda and contributed towards making Uganda the 'Pearl of Africa'.

We in India have taken note of, with great interest and appreciation, your decision to encourage the return of Asian

citizens of Uganda. This, I have no doubt, will help in the process of the economic rehabilitation of the country, a task you have undertaken with a sense of such deep personal commitment.

Under your sagacious leadership, peace, harmony and political stability has once again been re-established in Uganda. You are striving towards building a self-reliant economy based on a productive agricultural sector, as well as a participative industrial culture emphasising on rural and small scale industries. India has always been a firm believer in self-reliance. As a well-wisher, India would be more than happy to lend a hand of cooperation in your very challenging task. In keeping with the spirit of South-South Cooperation we are ready to share our experience, knowledge and human resources with our Ugandan brethren. There is scope for identifying areas of cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological fields. We already have some Indian firms and professionals committed to the economic development of your country. I have no doubt that your visit will provide fresh stimulus to our bilateral relations in the political and economic fields.

Excellency, as members of the Non-Aligned Movement, our two countries are fully committed to its new methodologies and direction. Countries like India and Uganda face new challenges in the evolving international political situation and worsening global economic environment. We have no doubt that under the Chairmanship of Indonesia, the Non-Aligned Movement, will acquire greater unity and solidarity and exert a more active influence on world events and on the management of international relations.

Excellency, a great deal has changed in the world scenario in recent years. The world community is awaiting the dawn of a democratic, undivided and non-racial South Africa. In the Middle East, the peace talks are well underway. Let us hope that peace and prosperity will reach every home in the developing world as we stand on the eve of the 21st Century.

Excellency, keeping in view our historically friendly relations and the similarities in our views on international events, I am confident that your talks with Indian leaders will help in promoting closer and mutually beneficial relations between our two countries.

Indo-Pak Cooperation Vital for the Sub-Continent

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to India as the High Commissioner of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

I greatly appreciate the warm greetings which you have brought from His Excellency President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and from the Prime Minister of Pakistan. His Excellency Mohammad Nawaz Sharif. I fully reciprocate their sentiments and would request you in turn, to convey my warm personal personal regards and hopes for a new era of cooperative relationship. I would also like to convey, through you, to the Government and people of Pakistan the feeling of deep friendship and abiding goodwill that the Government of India and its people have for them.

India and Pakistan have much in common; not only a common history, and a shared cultural heritage, but even common problems. The changing international environment is also posing similar challenges. There is a need, perhaps more than ever before, for us to pause, ponder, and work out what we can jointly do to enrich the lives of the peoples in the sub-continent that we both belong to and share.

We remain steadfast in our conviction that Simla Agreement provides the framework for resolving all outstanding issues between our two countries bilaterally and peacefully. We must seize the opportunities that present themselves for developing our relations; we should attempt, through cooperative endeavour, to introduce a relationship of trust and confidence, on the basis of the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement.

The Government of India is firmly committed to the establishment of cooperative and good neighbourly relations between our two countries. This would be in the interest of our peoples and would serve the cause of peace and stability in our region, and, indeed, in the world. In pursuance of the confidence building measures offered by India in 1990, six rounds of Foreign Secretary level talks have been held. Both Prime Ministers have met five

times. Such discussions carry the bilateral dialogue forward. It is my hope and belief that this process will be taken to its logical conclusion.

India regards SAARC as a most valuable forum for promoting cooperation among the countries of the region. We look forward to working with Pakistan at the forthcoming Summit in December, to further strengthen this organisation so that it can successfully address the problems of development that confront us and promote collaboration in the trade, economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields, between the two countries.

Mr. High Commissioner, I appreciate the commitment that you have taken to dedicate yourself to the cause of better relations between our two countries. I once again warmly welcome you to India and assure you that you will have every support from me and my Government in the discharge of your duties.

India Committed to West Asia Peace

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Israel. I would like to thank you for conveying the good wishes of His Excellency President Chaim Herzog which I warmly reciprocate. I would like to take this opportunity to convey, through you, the greetings of the Government and people of India to the Government and people of Israel, and my good wishes to His Excellency President Chaim Herzog for his personal well being and good health.

Mr. Ambassador, as we embark on a new era in our relations, it would be relevant to recall that in the past India has been home to Jewish communities from the West Asian region. The early settlers found a secure and well-integrated future within our village communities in different parts of India. Many of them rose

to become prominent entrepreneurs. The Sassoons, for example, had the single largest conglomeration of mills in India towards the end of the 19th century. Today, the Indian Jewish community in Israel is still playing its part in contributing to their country's progress and prosperity. It is in this spirit and long historical connection with the Jewish people that we look forward to pooling the many and potential talents of both our peoples to our mutual benefit.

It is, indeed, an important occasion Mr. Ambassador, that today you assume the post of Israel's first Ambassador to India, following the establishment of full diplomatic relations between our two countries earlier this year. May I, once again, extend you a very warm and hearty welcome to our country. With India's Ambassador in Israel having presented his credentials only a few weeks ago, both sides are now in a position to move forward in imparting the necessary momentum to our bilateral relations, to realise the considerable potential for cooperation in diverse fields such as trade and commerce, science and technology, solar energy, culture, tourism, aviation and agriculture. We in India hold in admiration the immense progress that the people of Israel have made, especially in agriculture, irrigation and the technological fields such as solar energy.

Mr. Ambassador, India has historically had close and cooperative relations with the West Asia region. The evolution of events in the area have always been closely followed by the people of this country. It is in this context that India, which has consistently advocated peaceful resolution of all problems, has welcomed the activation of the West Asia Peace Process for a direct dialogue and discussions between the Israeli and Arab delegations. We are hopeful that this historic opportunity will be utilized to find a just and honourable settlement acceptable to all parties concerned and recognizing the legitimate rights and aspirations of all parties engaged in the peace negotiations. As a manifestation of our commitment to promoting all efforts in this direction, India is participating in all groups of the multilateral Peace Process.

The post-cold war era has witnessed a rapidly changing international, political and economic environment. It has thrown up several new and complex challenges. Simultaneously, we have also been provided with a historic opportunity to reshape interstate relations. In our view the new structure must be capable of dealing with challenges that are global in nature and capable of

responding to the rapidity of changes. However, such an arrangement should be built on an international consensus through a truly democratic and multilateral process, with the participation of equal and sovereign states. I am confident, Mr. Ambassador, that our two countries will be able to work in close consultation with each other in meeting the emerging challenges in the international arena.

Mr. Ambassador, I am confident that with your knowledge and experience, your tenure in India will be marked by an effective and a substantial contribution towards the laying of a firm foundation for our bilateral cooperation in a wide spectrum of activities. I would like to assure you that, all your efforts in this direction will receive the full cooperation and support of my Government.

I would like to wish you a happy and fruitful stay in India.

India and Bhutan : Enduring Friendship

IT IS A special pleasure to welcome Your Majesty to India on a state visit. Your Majesty is a long-standing and close friend of India. You know this ancient land and our people well, and we greatly appreciate the truly invaluable contribution you have made to relations between Bhutan and India. We welcome you with joy and hope that you will have a pleasant and fruitful stay in India.

Innate to the friendship between India and Bhutan, is a shared sense of belonging. The Himalayas sustain us. Experiences over many centuries link us. The light of Buddhism illumines both our countries. Lord Gautam Buddha's message, conveyed to the Bhutan more than thirteen centuries ago by the great teacher, Guru Rimpoche or Padma Sambhava, draws our peoples together.

Banquet hosted in honour of King Jigme Singye Wangchuck of Bhutan, New Delhi, 4 January 1993

Several thousands of citizens from Bhutan visit India each year as pilgrims. And every India who visits Bhutan is also a pilgrim, deeply touched by the limpid beauty of the land, the monasteries and the rich culture, warmth and generosity of the people of Bhutan. The open border between our two neighbouring countries is an evocative symbol of our relationship — our spiritual kinship, cultural interaction, technical and economic cooperation and friendship for the common good of our people and for a better world.

The words of your Majesty's father, late King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, spoken more than two decades ago, come to mind : "The ties that bind our two countries are a matter of history. Our spiritual heritage stems from the teachings of the great son of India, Lord Gautam Buddha. The bonds of understanding and friendship have been further consolidated as a result of the growing economic and technical cooperation between our two countries."

Two great nation-builders, the late King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk and Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, enlarged enriched and vitalised the ambit of our mutually beneficial friendship, and ever since the bonds between our two countries have been nurtured with steady purposefulness by enlightened and far-sighted leadership in both countries.

Your Majesty has contributed greatly to the further development of friendship and cooperation between India and Bhutan, and our ties today are multi-dimensional, extending to the most significant fields of human endeavour. India-Bhutan relations directly augment the well-being of the people of our two countries in a time-tested spirit of mutual trust and understanding. During your stay in India, as you meet a wide cross section of our leadership and people, you would find that India's commitment to friendship and cooperation with Bhutan springs from the minds and hearts of the people of India. In great measure, Your Majesty's vision, wisdom and leadership have helped materialise this and open even greater vistas of growth through bilateral cooperation.

Earlier today our governments concluded a very significant agreement for the development of water resources. The Sankosh Project will contribute meaningfully to the quality of life of the people of both our countries and is another example of the fruits of our friendship, and our commitment to strive for the common good of our peoples.

We in India have always considered it a privilege to be associated with Bhutan's advancement into the age of science and technology. Whether building modern roads, microwave links, cement plants, or triumphs of engineering like the Chukha hydro-electric project—each achievement of Indo-Bhutanese cooperation is a source of special satisfaction to us. We rejoice in Bhutan's impressive progress in science, technology and industry in harmony with the requisites of maintaining the ecological balance and in tune with the time-honoured values of Bhutan's rich cultural heritage.

In India, we view with admiration Bhutan's efforts, under your prescient leadership, to increase what you aptly call the 'gross national happiness' of your people.

Your Majesty, you are with us at a significant juncture in the history of our region and of the world. The scope of change, of growth and of advancement in the world, and in our own societies and economies, is unprecedented. The emergence of an increasingly interdependent world adds strength to their inner logic of greater cooperation between India and Bhutan and enhances the value of the achievements registered thus far through bilateral cooperation. Our shared experience, understanding and trust are a source of great confidence as we plan and work for a better future for the people of our two countries, our region, and indeed, the whole world.

A New Chapter in Indo-Russian Relations

YOUR EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin and Madam Naina Yeltsina, on behalf of the Government and people of India, may I convey to you and your delegation a warm welcome. Mr. President, your visit to India marks the beginning of a new chapter in Indo-Russian relations.

Banquet hosted in honour of the President of the Russian Federation Mr. Boris Yeltsin, New Delhi, 28 January 1993

Your reputation for personal courage, fortitude, statesmanship and your commitment to the ideals of democracy precedes you. We welcome you in our midst while you are engaged in a qualitatively different structural transformation of the Russian Federation in social, economic and political terms. A transformation that marks the commencement of a new journey in the history of the Russian people. We are convinced that Russia will overcome the difficulties and obstacles that loom large today and will re-emerge as a significant polity contributing to stability and peace in the Eurasian region.

We in India are attentively following constitutional developments in your cr. We too have been through this process. We wish you success in this most crucial endeavour.

mr.President, we in India admire the energy with which you have taken in hand the complex tasks of both internal governance and maintaining a positive stance in external relations. The post-cold war era has thrown up several new and difficult challenges. At the same time, however, we have before us a rare historic opportunity to reshape inter-state relations. Any new structure that governs such relations must be capable of dealing with the challenges that are global in scope and in need of urgent solution. I refer here to the problems of removal of poverty, environmental degradation, weapons of mass destruction, cross border terrorism, drug trafficking, etc. It must be our joint endeavour to establish non-exploitative international community that ensures equity in the broadest sense of the term.

Our two countries have a tradition of cooperating in the arena of international relations and we look forward to working together to restructure inter-state relations. India and Russia share many common values and aspirations, Ours are both complex societies that believe in democracy and secularism. We are wedded to the universal values of peace and democracy. The pursuit of a non-aligned foreign policy is even more relevant today than ever before. The latter implies, decision making by consensus; accommodating change through consensus today is necessary not only to prevent conflicts tomorrow, but also to accommodate the economic, political, technological and military realities that have emerged since the end of the cold war. I am happy to note, therefore, that under your leadership Russia maintains not only an interest in having a constructive dialogue with the Non-Aligned Movement but also favours this dialogue growing deeper at all levels.

Your first ever visit to India is a reflection of continuity in the midst of change. It restores the tradition of contact between our two countries at the highest political levels. It also emphasises the tradition and importance of bilateral cooperation. Conditions and systems in Russia have undergone major transformation. We too have changed in India in several respects. These changes do not, however, detract from the inherent commonalities of interest between our two countries and the availability of opportunities for bilateral cooperation of mutual benefit in diverse areas of activity. The modalities of such cooperation would, no doubt, require adjustments and modifications to take into account the ongoing changes in our two countries.

Excellency, some significant agreements were signed earlier today. These agreements will establish a firm foundation for successful bilateral cooperation and it would be our endeavour to build upon this foundation in a calibrated and comprehensive manner. Your visit is a short one. This, nevertheless, gives us the opportunity to convey to you the warmth and affection that exists in India for Russia. We look upon your visit as the beginning of a new journey in our bilateral relations; a journey of purposeful cooperation, both bilaterally and in the international arena, with a view to achieving our common objectives of building a future that is equitable, safe and peaceful for all countries and all sections of humanity.

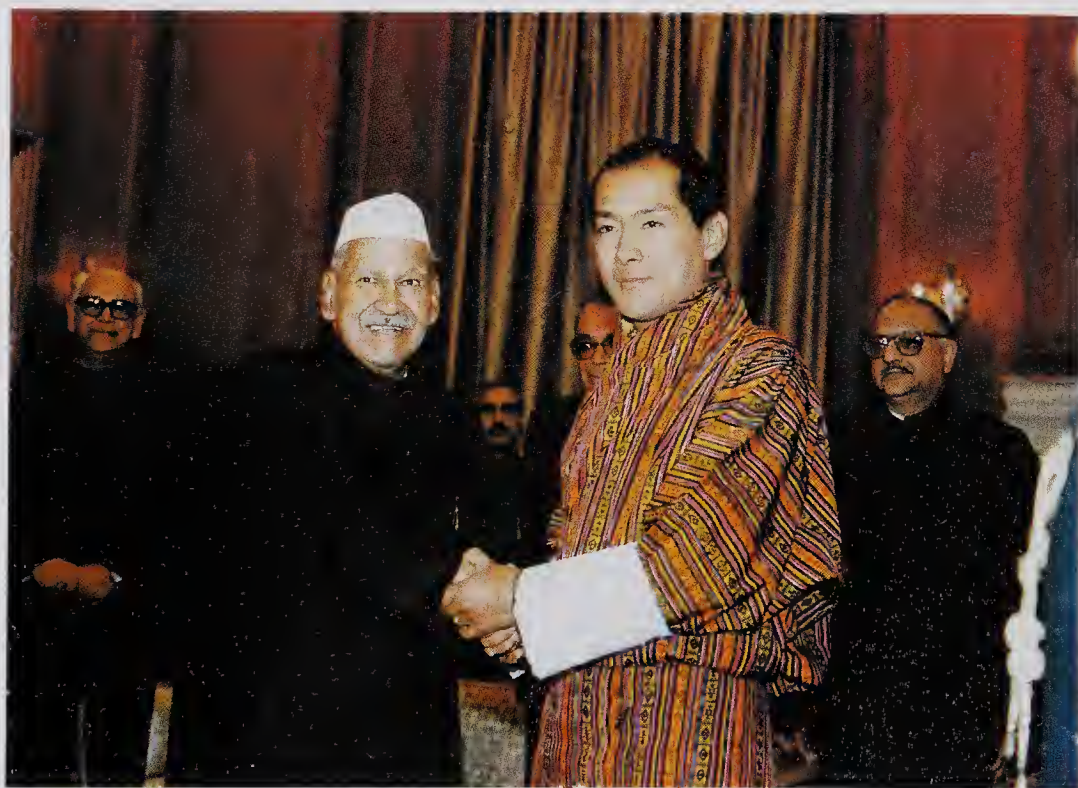
Dr. Helmut Kohl— 'Chancellor of Unity'

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you for the presentation of the 1990 Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding to Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Excellencies, under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership, India was among the first to recognise the new Federal Republic

Conferring the Nehru Award for International Understanding on the German Chancellor, Dr. Helmut Kohl, New Delhi, 19 February 1993

*With the Sultan of Brunei, Haji Hassanal Bolkiah,
New Delhi, 15 September 1992*



*With King Jigme Singye Wangchuk of Bhutan,
New Delhi, 4 January 1993*

*With Russian President Boris Yeltsin, New Delhi,
28 January 1993*



*With President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso
at a banquet, New Delhi, 31 May 1993*

*With President Ali Hashemi Rafsanjani of Iran,
Teheran, 13 July 1993*



*At a banquet hosted in his honour by President
Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine, Kiev, 13 July 1993*

*Being conferred the honorary doctorate degree by
Kiev University, Kiev, 14 July 1993*



Distributing sweets to children, Kiev, 14 July 1993

*Being given a traditional welcome at Odessa,
Ukraine, 15 July 1993*



*Inspecting a Guard of Honour during a visit to
Turkey, Ankara, 17 July 1993*



At the Blue Mosque, Istanbul, 18 July 1993



*Inspecting a Guard of Honour during a visit to
Hungary, Budapest, 20 July 1993*

At the official talks, Budapest, 20 July 1993



At the banquet hosted in honour of the Irish President, Mrs. Mary Robinson, New Delhi, 27 September 1993

of Germany and full diplomatic relations between India and Germany were established in 1952. Relations between India and Germany have from the beginning been based on our shared commitment to basic principles of international relations. The Joint Communique issued on the conclusion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Germany in June 1956, reaffirmed the commitment of our two countries to democracy, individual freedom and an international order based on peaceful cooperation, respect and national independence and non-interference in the internal affairs.

Prophetically, Pandit Nehru had spoken of the future of Germany :

"In my talks with Chancellor Adenauer I expressed my understanding of, and sympathy with, the desire of the German people for the peaceful achievement of their unit which would be facilitated by a lessening of tensions and which would contribute to the improvement of both the European and world situation."

It is indeed appropriate therefore that the recipient of the 1990 Jawaharlal Nehru Award is the "Chancellor of Unit", Dr. Helmut Kohl, who gave practical materialization to the long-standing dream of the German people for reunification and did so in a peaceful manner with the willing consent of all concerned.

Mr.Chancellor, the unification of Germany has won the acclamation of the peoples of the world, and is a tribute to your statesmanship and clear perception of the needs of humankind.

Some words from your statement to the Bundestag on 13th october, 1982, come to my mind:

"World peace is threatened not only by weapons but to an equal extent by poverty, hunger and death in many parts of the world. Accordingly, the Federal Government will continue, in the framework of its worldwide policy for peace, to work for cooperation in the spirit of partnership with the Third World. Our goal is a world order based on peaceful cooperation."

It is a goal which was recognized and endorsed by jawaharlal Nehru. Chancellor Kohl's bold, imaginative and sensitive leadership in Germany, over a decade, has contributed most significantly to historic advances towards North-South cooperation, lessening of tensions in Europe and elsewhere, and the building of a better future for all.

During the Chancellorship of Dr. Helmut Kohl, Indo-German relations have grown from strength to strength in both the political and economic fields. Germany is India's largest trading partner in Europe and India is a major recipient of German bilateral development assistance. The Festival of India in Germany which concluded last year has brought our peoples together in a celebration of the deep cultural ties between our two countries. Through frequent high level visits, our leaders have maintained regular contacts with each other which have further served to enhanced mutual understanding. Germany has been a reliable partner in India's development and these bonds, developed over the past four decades, are valued greatly by us.

India's economic reforms, designed to enable fuller Indian participation in the global economy, have created fresh opportunities which we can pursue together. The Indo-German tradition of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation on bilateral and international issues, provides a model for the building of a new international order keeping the need for genuine inter-dependence amongst nations clearly in view, for the benefit of all.

This, along with the willingness to share technology and resources and facilitate market access for products of developing countries under a new multilateral agreement for regulating world trade and economic relations, should strengthen the framework of environment friendly and sustainable development. We look forward to being partners with Germany in this historic endeavour. We have also to work together for a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. India has always stood committed to this goal. However, we do believe that when it comes to rights and obligations, it is essential that there is no discrimination. All parties must assume equal obligations and responsibilities. Discriminatory stipulations will not help us in achieving our objective of universal and total disarmament. The Chemical Weapons Convention, signed last month, provides a framework for similar instruments in respect of all weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. Chancellor, we in India watched with admiration as your country emerged from the devastation of World War-II. We believe that under your able and far-sighted leadership, Germany will rise to greater heights and strengths. We follow with interest your role in promoting European integration. Above all, we remain convinced that Germany has a vitally important role to play in

maintaining world peace and in shaping a more just and equitable world order.

Excellency, in conferring on you the Jawaharlal Nehru Award, we honour a great son of Germany and a champion of international peace and cooperation, values which were so dear to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the practical idealist and world statesman.

I have great pleasure in extending my warmest congratulations to you. May your endeavours in the cause of peace, international understanding, and human happiness secure greater and greater success in the months and years to come.

India and Moldova— Opportunities for Fruitful Cooperation

ON BEHALF OF the Government and people of India may I convey to you a warm welcome on your first State visit to India as the President of Moldova. your visit constitutes a landmark in the development of relations between our two countries, established on an independent basis following India's recognition of Moldova on 26th December, 1991.

The emergency of an independent Moldova provides new opportunities for greater interaction between our two countries at governmental, institutional, economic and people to people levels. Diplomatic relations between our two countries have already been established. Several significant agreements between our two countries are to be signed the day after tomorrow. These will provide the necessary framework for building multifaceted relations between our two countries and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Excellency, you are engaged in the challenging task of bringing stability to the multi-ethnic character of Moldova and

reorienting the economic structures in your country and integrating your economy more closely into the world economy. As you are aware, we in India have, since Independence, acquired extensive experience in running a mixed economy, in which the private sector plays a prominent part. We ourselves have taken measured and determined steps to minimize controls on private enterprise in our economy and thus enable India more fully to participate in the global economy. We have, inter-alia, a modern services sector and extensive experience in dealing with international financial institutions. It would give us great pleasure in sharing our experience and expertise with the friendly Government and people of Moldova.

India and Moldova share many common values and aspirations. Ours are both complex societies that are committed to the universal values of peace, democracy and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The end of the cold war and the dissolution of the former Soviet Union has given rise to a dramatic new situation in inter-State relations. New challenges and opportunities have arisen which call for bold and innovative responses. It has become even more important to accommodate change through peaceful means and consensus to achieve our shared goals of establishing just and stable inter-State structures. We believe that all the issues inherited from the dissolution of the former Soviet union should be resolved by the authorities concerned in a positive, peaceful and constructive spirit.

Excellency, our countries have a tradition of cooperation in the arena of international relations. It would be our endeavour to continue such cooperation. In this respect, an immediate task that faces not only our two countries but the world community as a whole is the need to reshape inter-State relations, so as to be capable of dealing with global challenges in need of urgent solution. Among these challenges are the removal of poverty, environmental protection, destruction of weapons of mass destruction - in the overall context of general and complete disarmament, the problem of cross-border terrorism and drug trafficking:

Excellency, your visit to India marks the beginning of a new era in Indo-Moldovan relations. We are convinced that our relations will strengthen to mutual benefit and for the well-being of our peoples.

Indo-Mauritian Relations : Commonality of Interest

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in extending to Your Excellency and to the distinguished members of your delegation, a very warm and cordial welcome. We are greatly appreciative that your first visit overseas, after assuming the office of the President of the Republic of Mauritius, is to India. It is symbolic of the special friendship that exists between our two countries. May I wish Your Excellency and your delegation a pleasant and memorable stay in India.

Indo-Mauritian relations have been strengthened over the years by frequent high level visits. Last year we had the privilege of receiving in India Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo, President of the Republic of Mauritius and Lady Ringadoo. Our Prime Minister, Shri P.V.narasimha Rao visited Mauritius last year in March. There has been an active exchange of other Ministerial visits between India and Mauritius over the past one year. Excellency, you yourself visited India as Industry Minister in November 1991.

I have fond remembrances of my visits to your beautiful country in the years 1988 and 1991, in my earlier capacity as the Vice-President of India. I found every corner of Mauritius echoing with the sounds and colours of India. To the presence of Indian culture are added the rich cultural streams from Africa and Europe, making Mauritius a remarkable example of multi-cultural and multi-ethnic coexistence. Today, your country is attracting world wide attention also for its rapid economic progress through wise and liberal economic policies. We rejoice in your achievement.

India's relations with Mauritius are based on a commonality of interests and on mutual trust and confidence. Our cooperation is multifaceted ranging from sectors such as culture and language to the frontier areas of knowledge, including satellite tracking, radio telescope and computer technology. India has been happy to extend technical and economic cooperation in contributing to your economic success.

Through the format of our bilateral joint Commission and the Cultural Exchange programme, close links have been woven between our people. We reaffirm our commitment to maintain and strengthen them.

Today, as India seeks to participate fully in the global economy, new opportunities are opening up for a profitable economic partnership with Mauritius. I am happy that Indian entrepreneurs are now actively pursuing joint ventures and investment and technical collaboration proposals in Mauritius. There has been an active exchange of business delegations in the recent past between the two countries. The Government of India's decision to set up a Rupees 20 crore Revolving Fund for the promotion of Indo-Mauritian joint ventures, is also a timely and significant step forward.

Excellency, we are witness to an era of historic change and opportunity. There has been an overall reduction of tensions in the world which has yet to translate itself into effective economic cooperation among the countries of the developing world. New strategies have to be formulated for the promotion of our mutual economic interests.

India and Mauritius share the ideals of non-alignment. We look forward to your continued cooperation also in our international fora on global issues such as disarmament, peace security and economic development.

The people of our two countries are united by deep-felt bonds of kinship and shared values. The spirit of cooperation which has marked our relationship is based on identity of views on most international and regional issues and the desire of our people to come closer to each other. We are confident that your visit will further strengthen our relations.

India and Indonesia— Partners in Progress

I AM VERY happy to receive from His Excellency, President Soeharto of Indonesia, the Letters of Credence, appointing you as the Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to India, as well as the Letter of Recall of your predecessor. I welcome you to our country and I hope that your stay here will be enjoyable and rewarding.

Indonesia has made remarkable progress in recent years. Richly endowed with natural resources, your country has been able to draw upon these resources efficiently for tasks of national development. India on its part has embarked on a policy of economic liberalisation. We are committed to maintaining the pace of these economic reforms as would enable the Indian economy more fully to participate in the global economic system.

Our two countries already have a number of significant joint ventures and there is scope to further expand our interaction. India offers an enormous market. We have also made progress in certain key areas of science and technology which would be of interest to Indonesia. We can share each other's experience in this field for mutual benefit.

A very significant recent development has been the commencement of the Indo-ASEAN Sectoral Dialogue. This dialogue will cover areas such as trade, investment, science and technology and tourism. We deeply appreciate the support received from Indonesia in the establishment of this dialogue. It would provide us with a useful forum to enhance the excellent bilateral relations between India and the ASEAN member states, in particular with Indonesia. There is immense potential which still remains untapped between India and its close maritime neighbours in South East Asia.

Our two countries have shared strong historical and cultural linkages for many centuries. Indeed, the ties that bind India and

Indonesia date back into antiquity. The common bond that we have shared through the ages sustains our common commitment to the ideas of democracy, a plural social and political ethos, and a deeply nourished tradition for peace and goodwill among nations. Both our countries have upheld the principles of tolerance and unit amidst diversity in our quest for improving the quality of life of our people.

Indonesia as the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement is playing a very important role in strengthening the forces of peace, friendship and cooperation between nations as developed by the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement in Bandung in 1955. I am confident that cooperation between our two countries both within the Non-Aligned Movement and in other international fora will increase in the years to come.

India and Indonesia are also engaged in a very meaningful exercise of South-South cooperation through the Group of 15. We look forward to working together with Indonesia in translating many of the G-15 ideas into beneficial actions for our peoples.

In the post-cold war era, many political commentators, have pointed to the emergence of Asia as a vibrant political and economic power. While in 1960, Asian economies represented four per cent of the global economy, they constitute a quarter now and are likely to be a third of the global economy in a decade. being Asian neighbours it will remain our determination to constantly work for the uplift of our people with mutual cooperation through open policies in the political, cultural and economic spheres.

Excellency, we trust that in your assignment as the Indonesian Ambassador to India, you will enrich all-sided cooperation between India and Indonesia. I would like to assure you of the fullest cooperation and assistance from my Government for the success of your mission in India.

Consolidation of Indo-German Relations

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in accepting the letter from the President of the Federal Republic of Germany H.E. Mr. Richard von Weizsacker accrediting you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of India. May I request you to convey to him my greetings and best wishes for his continued well-being.

Indo-German relations are based on the solid foundation of mutual respect, goodwill, understanding and cooperation. As far back as the 18th century, a number of eminent German intellectuals and scholars began to take keen interest in India's languages and cultures. Their pioneering work has contributed significantly to arousing German interest in India and establishing a special bond among our two peoples. The foundation of our modern day relationship was laid in January 1951, when India took the lead in extending recognition to the Federal Republic of Germany. Under the farsighted leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, India was also among the first countries to lend support, as far back as the 1950s, to German aspirations for unification. It was in this context that India unreservedly welcomed the unification of Germany in 1990. Indeed, we have watched with great admiration the process of German integration through peaceful and democratic means.

Over the past few years, the world has witnessed historic changes. The cold war is over. Europe itself has undergone transformations which could not have been foreseen a few years ago. We, in India, are aware of the greater responsibilities that have to be assumed by Germany in the context of the changed international situation.

Over the past four decades, there has been a continual expansion and diversification of Indo-German relations in all areas of bilateral interaction. The regular exchange of high-level visits testify to the increased intensity of bilateral cooperation between India and Germany. In this context, I would like to recall the visits

Accepting the credentials from Mr. Frank Albe, Ambassador-designate of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi, 5 May 1993

of H.E.Mr.Richard von Weizsacker in March 1991, of Prime Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao to Germany in September 1991, and the recent visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to India in February 1993.

Germany is today India's largest partner in Europe in the fields of trade, investment, transfer of technology and scientific cooperation. We have not yet exhausted the potential for further strengthening our relations in these areas, based on complementarities and the increased opportunities that lie before us in a continually integrating global market. I am confident that the governments of our two countries as well as representatives of trade and industry will rise to the challenge and seize these opportunities.

We, in India, are engaged in the exciting and sometimes daunting task of building a modern nation. Our new policies of liberalising our economy are aimed at bringing greater prosperity to our people. In these endeavours, we seek a peaceful and cooperative regional as well as international environment. Our democratic institutions and the principles of secularism and tolerance which we dearly cherish are threatened by the spectre of terrorist violence. We are determined to face these challenges resolutely and believe that our efforts will meet with understanding and support from our friends abroad.

I wish you every success in your assignment and would like to assure you of the fullest cooperation of the Government of India in your endeavours to bring our two countries closer together. I would like to convey to you and to your family my best wishes for a pleasant and memorable stay in India.

Age-old India Nepal Ties

ON BEHALF OF the Government and the people of India it is with great pleasure that I welcome Your Majesties of your royal visit to India.

Your Majesty is guiding with great wisdom and vision the advancement of Nepal towards modernity. The Government and

Banquet hosted in honour of King Birendra of Nepal, New Delhi, 6 May 1993

the people of India greatly respect and admire the leadership provided by Your Majesty towards the progress and prosperity of Nepal, and for the development of relations between our two countries.

More than twenty-two centuries ago, in 250 BC, the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka had visited Lumbini and had erected a pillar which endures to this day, to commemorate the birth place of Lord Gautam Buddha on Buddha Purnima. Today, Your Majesties' visit to India, eagerly awaited by us in India, has commenced on Buddha Purnima and we wish you a pleasant and fruitful stay in our country.

Our two nations are bound by ties of blood and kinship shared values and spiritual belief, history, geography, and cooperation in many fields for the well-being of our people and the common good of all humankind.

The people of India, since time immemorial, have a sense of identification and oneness with Nepal, the land of Lord Pashupatinath. In the 'Prayag Prashasti' of Samudragupta, in Allahabad, there is special mention of the King of Nepal as a "neighbouring sovereign ruler" of a country with which India had fraternal relations.

Through the centuries the relations and bonds between our two nations have grown and been enriched. Indeed, few nations in the world are so fortunate as to have bilateral relations so imbued with fraternal friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation.

The great literary genius Kalidas, in the first verse 'Kumarasambhav' had referred to the Himalayas thus :

“... देवात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः

... स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः।।”

“The mountain named the abode of snow, whose inner element is enlightenment, is established as the measuring, guiding criterion for all that seeks to rise.”

Your Majesty, I should like to say that relations between Nepal and India, similarly, provide an exemplary model for nations in our region.

Building upon the sovereignty and the equal status of all nations, it should be possible for us in the SAARC to undertake meaningful cooperation, as India and Nepal have done, to our mutual benefit.

India is proud to contribute as a partner in Nepal's development. India remains steadfastly committed to Nepal's all-round progress. As India's first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, had said, in 1956, during his visit to Kathmandu, at a banquet hosted by Your Majesty's father, King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah : "We are parts of the same sub-continent, standing together in perpetual amity and friendship. India is vitally interested in the peace and prosperity of Nepal."

Today, with our shared commitment to peace, and time-tested ethical, moral and spiritual values, we enjoy with the friendly people of Nepal another dimension in our rich friendship: the determination to assimilate and develop the benefits of science and technology for a better quality of life for our people.

India and Nepal are endowed with all the necessary conditions further to strengthen our friendly and cooperative relationship. This represents the desire of our peoples and the commitment of our Governments.

Your Majesty's visit provides a visible and very meaningful symbol of the great fund of goodwill and friendship between India and Nepal and our United endeavour towards the goal of peace, prosperity and happiness for our peoples and, indeed, for all humankind.

India and Tanzania : Opportunities for Cooperation

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to extend a warm and cordial welcome to Your Excellency and to the distinguished members of your delegation. Mr. President, we have had the pleasure of welcoming you here on an earlier occasion. For countries that are as close to each other as Tanzania and India, such visits are pleasurable opportunities for an exchange of ideas. I am confident that your present visit will further strengthen the already close relationship between our two countries.

Banquet hosted in honour of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania, New Delhi, 10 May 1993

The Indian sub-continent's links with Africa, and particularly East Africa, are many. Following our Independence in 1947, we strove in the comity of nations to confront and overcome colonialism elsewhere. Those were years of shared struggle, of resurgent hope, of joint endeavour. Lasting links were forged between us in that tumultuous period and the deep friendship generated, reflected in the closeness that India and Tanzania share today. India was the first country, in 1946, that raised its voice in the United Nations General Assembly against the abhorrent practice of apartheid in South Africa. We have, since, witnessed the bastions of apartheid fall, one by one and it is now possible for us to expect to see the emergence of a democratic and united South Africa before long.

A significant number of people of Indian origin have adopted Tanzania as their home. We are very pleased that Tanzania has accepted them as full and equal citizens. We are happy that they are serving Tanzania well in various spheres of Tanzania's economic development. Tanzanian citizens of Indian origin along with a number of Indian nations, are an important link between India and Tanzania in further consolidating and enriching our relationship.

India has watched with interest Tanzania's progress towards multi-party democracy and its economic rehabilitation and liberalisation programmes in which you, personally, Your Excellency, have played an important role.

We have ourselves embarked on a process of economic reform and liberalisation. The measures instituted in this direction have evoked encouraging international response. Indo-Tanzanian economic cooperation stands also to benefit significantly. Between our two countries, we have tremendous resources, and we should effectively utilize the new possibilities open to us to expand and intensify cooperation for mutual benefit.

Excellency, over the last few years, the world has changed to an extraordinary degree. The end of the cold war has generated new hopes and expectations amongst the nations of the world. We stand today on the threshold of what could be a new era of positive change for the countries of the South. Developing countries like India and Tanzania, must accelerate their efforts more fully to participate in the world economy. Cooperation between the countries of the South will remain a key determinant element in our ability to achieve meaningful economic progress.

The countries of the South owe an enormous debt to Mwalimu Nyerere whose strong voice on international, political and economic issues has always been listened to with great respect. The South Commission, under his Chairmanship, undertook commendable initiatives in drawing up a strategy for the development of the South and its interface with the countries of the North. The South Centre continues that tradition. It is for us to build upon these initiatives and bring them to fruition.

In the new world order today, democratization at the national level must also be reflected in democratization at the global level. This was an important theme at the Non-Aligned Summit in Jakarta last year. Our goal is the creation of a new world order, an order which is just, equitable and democratic for the good of all humankind. India and Tanzania can make an invaluable contribution in this respect, working closely together, building further on the achievements registered thus far, and enlarging the horizons of friendship, cooperation and progress.

Excellencies, I once again express our great pleasure in having you with us. Your visit represents an important milestone in the history of Indo-Tanzanian relations. We hope that your stay, and that of your delegation, would be pleasant and fruitful.

India and Africa— Neighbours Across the Sea

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome Your Excellency and the distinguished members of your delegation to India. Your visit opens a new chapter in the relations between our two countries and serves to bring us closer.

India has an abiding interest in Africa. India and Africa are, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said, “neighbours across the sea”. In the present century, our peoples have emerged into

freedom and have before us the tasks of national reconstruction and creating a better future for all. We have to build upon the traditional goodwill between countries of the South for mutually beneficial economic, technical and cultural cooperation.

Despite the geographical distance between us, India and Burkina Faso have maintained friendly links and our relations have always been cordial. Cooperation between our two countries is conceived in the true spirit of South-South cooperation.

Since Independence, India has acquired considerable technological expertise and sophistication in various fields including agriculture, industry science and technology and manpower development. Your Excellency will have an opportunity of seeing some of our institutions and production facilities. I take this opportunity to reiterate our readiness to continue to share with Burkina Faso the technological expertise and experience that we have accumulated.

We have noted with interest Burkina Faso's emphasis on promoting agriculture and small and medium scale industries. This will ensure that development takes place for the benefit of the common man. We can build cooperation to provide assistance to Burkina Faso towards procuring agricultural equipment, vehicles and related machinery. We are also ready to cooperate with you in the area of human resource development. We are open to suggestions regarding new avenues of cooperation.

We have watched with interest Burkina Faso's move towards multi-party democracy. Your Excellency has personally played an important role in it. For us, democracy is the bedrock of our national life, and we are very glad that Burkina Faso, among Francophone countries, has taken the lead in this direction.

We have noted the success of West African countries in developing regional cooperation among themselves. The Economic Community of West African States has emerged as an important factor for providing stability and ensuring progress within the region. We believe that such regional cooperation is necessary if developing countries are to avail themselves of the full scope of progress possible to them.

We are strongly committed to the growth of SAARC which brings together the countries of South Asia. Such regional cooperation can strengthen and accelerate the process of cooperation on the global scale among developing countries.

The last few years have been a time of unprecedented change in the world. There are now new attitudes and expectations. We stand today on the threshold of what could well be an era of positive change for the countries of the South provided we, of the developing world, act with vision, wisdom and unity, and strive to build a peaceful and democratic world order.

Democratization must inform the emerging world order. This was an important theme at the last Non-Aligned Summit. It is our hope that India and Burkina Faso can join many other Non-Aligned nations in working together for the creation of a just, equitable and democratic international order, designed to serve the good of all humanity.

Excellency, I take this opportunity once again to express our great pleasure in having you with us. We hope that your stay, and that of your delegation, would be fruitful and pleasant. We trust that we shall be able, during your visit, to enlarge the ambit and the perspective of relations between our two countries.

India and Ukraine — Partnership for Peace

IT IS A great pleasure for me to be in Kiev this evening, in this capital city of a great and historical land. On behalf of myself and my wife and of the delegation, I wish to express my sincere thanks to you, Excellency, and to your colleagues for the hospitality that has been extended to us. Kiev is renowned for its cultural and spiritual heritage. As for its physical beauty, these are perhaps best expressed by the words of your great poet Taras Shevchenko :

“Tell me how beyond that mountain,
Crimson sunsets glow and fade
How the rainbow dips for water

Banquet hosted in his honour by President Leonid M. Kravchuk of Ukraine,
Kiev, 13 July 1993

*At the banquet hosted in honour of Czech
President, Dr.Vaclav Havel, New Delhi,
7 February 1994*



*With the Polish President, Mr. Lech Walesa during a
banquet, New Delhi, 3 March 1994*

*Being conferred the honorary Doctorate Degree at
Boyana University, Bulgaria, 25 May 1994*



*Addressing the Bulgarian Parliament, Sofia,
27 May 1994*

With Bulgarian children, Varna, 29 May 1994



*With the Romanian Christian leader, Bucharest,
1 June 1994*

*At a convocation of the University of Bucharest,
Romania, 1 June 1994*



At Peles Castle, Romania, 1 June 1994

In the Dniپر far away
How the poplars tall and slender
Throw their leafy branches wide”

(Shevchenko, The Princess)

I had indeed felt a strong urge to visit Ukraine and to see for myself the famed beauty of the sunsets and poplar trees that the poet described so eloquently. My small regret is that I have not come in time to see the chestnuts in bloom, but otherwise Kiev is as beautiful as anyone can imagine. In accepting your invitation, Excellency, I had therefore no hesitation.

It is a little more than a year since we had the pleasure of welcoming you and your colleagues in our midst. That was indeed a landmark in relations between our two peoples. It is all the more important therefore for our two countries to continue to build upon the understandings and agreements reached during your visit as well as at subsequent high level contacts. We have observed with interest the emergence of Ukraine as an independent Republic and the growing aspirations of the Ukrainian people for democracy and development of its institutions. Freedom is essential because it gives the strength to build a prosperous society.

The passage of the cold war is an event that both our countries and our peoples can rejoice in. The unnatural division based on ideologies or military pacts was something that the Non-Aligned Movement rejected as unacceptable from the very beginning. The end of East-West confrontation and the establishment of democracy has ushered in a new era in the world. Nonetheless, it is equally clear that the world still faces new challenges to which we have to address ourselves.

First and foremost, we are concerned to ensure that overcoming past divisions leads to a more cooperative relationship between countries on the basis of equality and mutual interest. The world is poised on the edge of a revolution in technology and economic management and it would be a historic failing if the benefits of these achievements were not shared equally and without discrimination. India is committed to this view and is adopting new measures aimed at changing the economic structures to facilitate freer economic cooperation. We have embarked upon a combination of economic reforms and liberalisation policies, confident that we will be able to face the challenges of poverty and inequality.

Excellency, our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru stated in our Constituent Assembly on the eve of our Independence that "Peace is said to be indivisible, so is Prosperity, and so also is Disaster, in this one world which can no longer be split into isolated fragments". It is imperative that we all recognise the inter-dependent nature of our world today and accept that it is in the interests of every country to promote the welfare and prosperity of other countries, in this rapidly shrinking globe of ours.

We are following with interest Ukraine's own search for a new balance in politics and economics and are happy to share with our friends, within our limitations, our resources and experience. The people of India wish you well and look forward to continue stability and growth of the Ukrainian economy.

The post-cold war world has also thrown up the challenge and opportunity of establishing a more democratic global order. Whether at the United Nations, or at any of the international economic organizations, or indeed on the question of disarmament, India remains a crusader against discrimination in any form. India has all along stood for general and complete disarmament. We have also put forward a concrete programme of action in order to eliminate, within a fixed period of time, all nuclear weapons in the world.

The world has, in recent past, witnessed the rise of intolerance, religious or ethnic or racial with its accompanying violence. As Mahatma Gandhi said, "Violence cannot be destroyed by counter violence. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence." Even as we welcome the emergence of new freedom in different parts of the world, we have to reiterate our faith in non-violence and our commitment to enlarging the ambit of peace, understanding and cooperation between man and man and nation and nation. We have to guard against the propensity of those elements who seek to exploit a system based on the rights of human beings and individual freedom to secure their narrow ends. In our neighbourhood, we are witnessing extremist beliefs which are encouraging terrorism and are a challenge to the stability of our region, as also to the secular basis of Indian polity. I am confident that the Indian ethos, which has developed over centuries, will overcome this challenge and demonstrate the enduring strength of our moderate, secular, tolerant society.

We are aware that Ukraine, a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual society, faces challenges as well which can be overcome only

through accommodation and co-existence. Ukraine has been blessed by nature with a rich soil, fair climate and talented people. Your past achievements in industry, science and technology, art and culture are impressive and the future holds an equally great promise.

We wish to assure you that, in India, you have a friend. Knowing however the spirit of your people and the optimism with which they look upon the world, I am confident that your troubles are only temporary and very soon Ukraine will take its place among the great nations of the world.

Two great nations, India and Ukraine, have much to contribute to the world, both individually and together. Lord Buddha had said, "The only real victory is one in which all are equally victorious and there is defeat for no one". Our friendships, mutual understanding and cooperation have great potential in this regard. Our relations have developed satisfactorily since Your Excellency's visit last year and we are happy to note the growing exchanges in all fields — political, economic, cultural and others — that are drawing our people closer together. India is committed to further promoting close understanding with Ukraine and it gives us genuine pleasure that this sentiment is fully reciprocated in Ukraine. This is a very encouraging base to build upon and I invite everyone present here to work together to realise that promise and potential.

India and Hungary— Shared Human Values

WE ARE DEEPLY touched by your gracious words of welcome and the warmth of the sentiments which you have expressed about my country. It is, for us, a great privilege to be in this beautiful city on the banks of the Danube, and to see for ourselves the fresh flame of freedom which you, President Goncz personally, and

Banquet hosted in his honour by the Hungarian President Mr. Arpad Goncz, Budapest, 20 July 1993

many of the distinguished guests present here have helped to rekindle. To the world outside, the indomitable Magyar spirit is well known and has infused your history, marked by heroic struggles to preserve your national identity. Figures like Ferenc Rakoezi Lajos Kossuth and Sandor Petofi have been an inspiration not just for the Hungarian people but for all those who have fought for Independence the world over. So too are the countless and unsung heroes of 1956.

Hungary of today, I believe, has transcended the phase of establishing itself as a national state. It is engaged in the equally difficult task of nation building and in meeting the challenges of the rising expectations — be it social, economic, or political — of its people. We in India understand the enormity of the task facing your nation, being engaged in a similar exercise ourselves. What has aroused our admiration is that the profound changes are being undertaken in your country with the consent and involvement of the people. History has demonstrated repeatedly that only that achievement endures which is acceptable to the people and represents their democratic aspirations. The people of India are one with the Hungarian people in their espousal of the democratic spirit and their commitment to the democratic system of governance.

Your Excellency, in the aftermath of the elections in your country in 1990, the first Indian delegation which was sent to Budapest was a delegation of our parliamentarians. We wished to emphasise the importance we attach to parliamentary institutions which are the bedrock of democracy. Equally important, we wished to welcome Hungary back to the community of democratic nations.

A great heritage of friendship and cooperation provides the backdrop for relations between India and Hungary. I need hardly remind you of the unique role which your foremost intellectual explorer Korosi de Csoma has played in building bridges between our people. Our foremost poet, Rabindranath Tagore is perhaps as well known in Hungary as in India itself. There have been worthy successors to this tradition: Amrita Shergill, Ervin Baktay, Sass and Elizabeth Brunner, to name but a few.

In today's world, the efforts of such ambassadors of culture have been supplemented by interaction between our peoples in a variety of different fields. Our bilateral relations have in recent times been a mixture of opportunities and challenges. India is one

of Hungary's major trade partners in the developing world. We have an important relationship in the field of military technology. Our institutions and scholars have growing contact in the fields of science and technology, health, culture and different branches of academic research. The receptivity of our peoples to each other has been demonstrated evocatively very recently by the "Days of Indian Culture" in Hungary. Both our governments are conscious of the need to foster this spirit of cooperation. Your visit to India in 1991, Mr. President, and mine now bear ample testimony to the importance which our countries attach to strengthening our relations.

Increasingly, thinkers and leaders around the world are recognising the importance of a genuinely interdependent world and of our common future as citizens of one planet. Fewer and fewer think it realistic for any country — big and small — to care only for itself and its people. The prosperity of one is linked to the prosperity of all.

In India we have a direct responsibility of improving the living standards of one-sixth of mankind. Four decades after gaining our independence, we have chosen not to rest on our laurels but to find ways and means of increasing economic growth while ensuring socio-economic justice. India has embarked on a major policy of liberalising the economy which is indicative of our belief that the world outside has as much to contribute to our welfare as we to theirs. In that context, we have followed with interest the process of economic changes in Hungary. I am confident that the policies embarked upon by our two countries will yield visible dividends in the near future.

Change through a democratic system, while slow, is nevertheless regarded as the most acceptable in the history of man. Where India is concerned, the uniqueness of our endeavour lies not just in the magnitude of our goal but in the diversity of the people participating in it. We regard the different streams of intellectual thought and culture, tradition, language, literature, customs and social mores in India as vital to the building of a strong composite pluralistic nation. Our endeavour has been to modernise our society to secure material well-being for our people in harmony with the positive aspects of our traditional values and the need to assimilate new ideas and insights thrown up by the ever widening horizons of human knowledge.

India and Hungary are countries which share basic human values, and have worked together in different fora to meet such

challenges. I am confident that our cooperation, both bilateral and on international issues, would only grow from strength to strength in the years to come.

Twenty years ago, Your Excellency, I visited Hungary and had the privilege of planting a sapling in Balatonfured next to the memorial to Rabindranath Tagore. Just as the tree has struck deep roots and grown so many branches, so too has our relationship developed. I hope that our visit has contributed to the strengthening of our historical friendship.

The Rich Heritage of Budapest

IT IS A privilege and a special honour to be invested with the possession of the Golden Key to the historic City of Budapest. I deem this bestowal to be an expression of affection, not so much for myself as for the people of India, of the citizens of this beautiful city, who are noted for their dynamism and resilience. Our deepest appreciation for this gracious and thoughtful gesture.

Over many centuries, the “comely” Buda and the “homely” Pest have together witnessed numerous events of revolutionary import. These very streets that we ramble on can yield mementoes, ranging from a Roman relic to a discarded medallion of a departed soldier. Indeed, Budapest has survived the rise and fall of royals and regimes, heard the clashes of swords and rumblings of tanks, at times marching over the very soul of Hungary. From its wide boulevards and winding lanes, from its sun-dappled parks and the expressive statues in them, history often whispers to us. This history, of course, chronicles not merely intellectual attainment in various sciences, of the frequent explosion of creativity in the arts and letters, music and dance.

To be true to the memory of the past, Mr. Mayor, I cannot help recalling two events, both of which took place in these very avenues of Pest. One was the procession of citizens on 15 March, 1948 led by the poet, Sandor Petofi, towards the Town Hall to present their 12 - point demand. I recall this from the history

books and it has stuck in my memory ever since. The other was the uprising of 23 October, 1956 and the tragic events that followed. There are, no doubt, marks on the walls of some of these grand mansions still that speak of the poignancy of frustration and helplessness felt then.

Happily, history is on the side of those who are patient with its whims. And the people of Budapest have always had patience and have shown commendable fortitude in the face of heavy odds. They have taken all these odds and many more in their stride. As a witness to this invincibility we stand here, free once again to feast our eyes on the vivid beauty of Pest, the scenic panorama of the Buda Hills and the unforgettable vista of nightfall over the gentle Danube against the Azure blue skies, so beloved of many a visitor.

I am also conscious that Your Worship and many of the distinguished friends present here have a long connections and close knowledge of India and its multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-linguistic and multi-religious character. In Hungary, India's cultural traditions and ancient heritage are generally and widely known. However, there is another India — the largest democracy, a symbol of secularism and upholder of multi-party Parliamentary system which has synthesised the best of traditions of the past with the expectations and promise of the new. We have the fifth largest economy in the world and the second largest and highly qualified pool of scientific and tech manpower. We have successfully increased foodgrains production to make ourselves more than self-sufficient in spite of the population having grown to 870 millions. We take pride in our progress in the area of human resources in exploring the frontiers of science and technology. Our tradition of tolerance and receptivity to the ideas and values of the world at large is reflected in our reforms and liberalisation of the economy. Since last March, the rupee has been made fully convertible on trade account and has maintained its stability against world currencies. The rate of inflation has been brought down from over 17 per cent in 1991 to around 6 per cent now. Mr. Mayor, I request you, your colleagues and your friends to visit India so that interaction between the peoples of our two capitals and countries can be further strengthened.

Once again, Your Worship, may I express my heartfelt gratitude. I am proud, simply very proud, to be allowed to partake of the rich heritage that Budapest has bequeathed to its residents and the promise of unfailing excitement it hold for them.

Enhance Cooperation with European Community

ON THE OCCASION of your visit to India, it gives me great pleasure to extend a warm welcome to you and Mr. Robinson on behalf of the people of India and on my own behalf.

Despite the vast distance that separates our two countries, relations between India and Ireland have been marked by a sense of enduring friendship and mutual empathy. The peoples of India and Ireland share a common commitment to freedom, democracy and the rule of law.

The movements for Independence in our two countries have many parallels. The fighters for India's freedom drew inspiration from Ireland's struggle for Independence. The indomitable spirit of Annie Besant left its indelible impression upon the Indian freedom movement. mg, the Father of our Nation, had great admiration for the legendary Irish leader and former President Eamon De Valera. In a message to the London branch of the Irish Republican Congress held in February 1936, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had occasion to record :

“Ireland has often been in our thoughts in India and we have drawn inspiration from her unquenchable desire for liberty surviving long centuries of conflict and fierce repression by a powerful imperialism.”

Contacts between India and Ireland have not been confined to the political arena alone. Indian writers have greatly admired the genius and works of Irish men of letters such as W.B. Yeats, James Joyce, Bernard Shaw, W.M. Synge and Samuel Beckett. The poet W.B. Yeats was one of the first in the West to find a sympathetic chord in the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore and was moved to write the introduction of Tagore's anthology “Geetanjali”.

Tagore, on his part, dedicated his play “The Gardener” to Yeats as a token of his admiration. Thus, the rich literacy heritage

of our two countries has also played no small role in promoting common bonds and linkages among our peoples.

Excellency, since Independence, India has remained steadfast in her commitment to democracy and secularism. Democracy provides the fullest scope for the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Indian people in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. Secularism is the best guarantee of the unit and well-being of our social and cultural diversity. Mutual respect and acceptance of the oneness of all religions, is embedded in our humanistic tradition. The intrinsic resilience of our ethos, the innate wisdom of our people and the strength of our commitment to democratic and secular principles enable us to surmount all obstacles.

India's Constitution guarantees Fundamental Rights and equality before the law to all our citizens. As a democracy, India is deeply committed to the rule of law and the dignity of the individual. In keeping with our firm desire to uphold human rights, we have taken a decision to further strengthen institutional safeguards by setting up a National Human Rights Commission. Necessary legislation in this regard is under consideration in our Parliament.

Excellency, the democratic way of in pluralistic societies such as ours is facing an unprecedented threat from the spectre of extremist violence and terrorism. It is incumbent upon the menace of terrorism in all its manifestations.

As a member of the European Community, Ireland has linked its future firmly with the process of European integration progress made by the European Community in establishing a single market as well as in other areas of integration is a demonstration of the will of the member States to permanently turn their back upon centuries of conflict and forge close bonds so that Europe can be assured of peace, prosperity, security and harmony. India attaches great significance to its close and cooperative relations with the European Community which is our largest economic partner. We remain keen to foster closer bilateral relations with individual member States of the European Community. Ireland is fast emerging as an important industrialised country. It is our hope that Ireland will play an active role in the enlargement of India's cooperation with the European Community in the areas of trade, investment and technology flows.

Excellency, your reputation as a person of great eminence and learning has preceded you to this country. You have been elected to the highest office in Ireland after a distinguished academic and political career. Your courageous visit to Somalia last year served as a poignant reminder to the world of the anguish and suffering of the people of that country. We have noted your deep involvement in issues relating to human and civil rights and greatly admire your commitment to social and humanitarian causes.

Excellency, your visits to various places in India will give you some idea of the rich cultural heritage and diversity of our country. I am happy that while in Calcutta you intend to meet Mother Teresa, who herself came to India from a convent in Ireland more than five decades ago to work among the homeless and destitute. Your visit to the Sabarmati Ashram will acquaint you with a significant chapter in the life of mg and India's struggle for Independence. Your visits to Bombay and Bangalore will provide you an opportunity to see two of our major centres of industry and advanced technology. I am confident that your visit will further strengthen the bonds of friendship which exist between our two countries.

Free Mankind from Nuclear Threat

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome Your Majesties King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia on your first visit to India. I am confident that your visit will impart a new momentum to our bilateral relations by helping to bridge the physical distance that separates our two countries, and to strengthen the existing bonds of friendship and cooperation between India and Sweden. We are glad that you will have an opportunity during your stay with us to see our country and acquaint yourselves with processes of growth and modernization in this ancient land where we seek to

synthesise the spirit of our cultural heritage with the potential of science and technology.

Historical contacts between India and Sweden date back to the mid Seventeenth century when the first known Swedish traveller, Nils Mattson Koping, visited India as an employee of the Dutch East India Company. Since then, mutual awareness of each other has grown steadily, to which poets and painters, travellers and thinkers and scientists and technologists have each contributed in their own way. In this connection, the names of the Swedish poet Gustaf Froding, painter Egron Lundgren, economists Gunnar Myrdal and Jan Myrdal and Indian Nobel laureates Rabindranath Tagore and C.V.Raman come readily to mind.

In recent times, there has been a regular exchange of high level visits between our two countries which have further served to deepen and strengthen our relations. India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, visited Sweden in 1957. This was followed by the visit of Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander to India in 1959. We have since travelled together the path of close, cordial and collaborative relations in a variety of fields. Regular contacts between the elected leaders of both countries and the personal rapport that has been established among them have helped in carrying forward our friendship to qualitatively higher levels. I believe I would be reflecting the sentiment of both our peoples if I say that it is our mutual and earnest desire to further strengthen the edifice of the many sided bilateral relations and cooperation in the years to come.

Since our Independence, India has remained steadfast in her commitment to democracy and secularism which, we remain convinced, are best suited to serve the interests of our population and to guarantee our unity in diversity. Multi-party democracy provides ample scope to meet the aspirations of our people in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. The strength and stability of our system is based on the intrinsic resilience of our traditions and institutions, the innate wisdom of our people and their abiding commitment to democratic and secular principles.

India and Sweden share common views and concerns on a large number of issues. We are both committed to the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. We have a keen interest in safeguarding the environment and promoting sustainable development. We also share common aspirations on the emergence of an equitable world economic order in which the

nations of the North and the South work closely together for mutual benefit and prosperity. We both seek the early and successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round with equitable and sustaining results.

We are appreciative of the efforts Sweden has made to promote a North-South dialogue. India has a vital stake in such a dialogue to try and overcome economic disparities between the nations of the world. Sweden has played a laudable role in promoting South-South cooperation. India, with its use of relevant technology and reserves of skilled manpower, would be happy to work together with Sweden to promote such cooperation among developing countries.

We have noted that Sweden has signalled its interest in seeking a closer identity with Western Europe and has applied for membership of the European Community. We already have close and cooperative links with the Community in a number of fields. We hope that an integrated Europe will emerge as an outward looking entity and we are confident that Sweden will develop and promote its existing relations with countries outside the Community.

India, like Sweden is committed to the goal of disarmament. We have repeatedly affirmed our desire for a universal, comprehensive and non-discriminatory regime which can rid the world of nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war. In this spirit we cooperated with Sweden in the Six-Nation Five Continent Peace Initiative. While the threat of a nuclear war has receded in the post-cold war era, mankind has still to free itself fully from the threat of nuclear weapons. We will work together with other countries to achieve this goal.

Your Majesties, major steps have been taken by the Government of India in the area of economic reforms designed to boost India's economic development and to bring about the globalisation of our economy. This programme of economic liberalisation has created opportunities for investment, joint ventures and other forms of economic cooperation. Sweden enjoys a high reputation for its advance technology and expertise. We welcome the presence in India of a Swedish industrial delegation coinciding with the visit of Your Majesties. I am sure that their visit will identify opportunities for enhancing Swedish participation in the development of the Indian economy.

We appreciate your message of sympathy on the devastating earthquake which struck our State of Maharashtra and adjoining areas. We acknowledge the Special BEL-Gelatine of Sweden's generous offer of assistance for the relief efforts being undertaken by the Government of India. We have also taken note of Sweden's offer of further assistance for rehabilitation work in the earthquake affected areas.

Your Majesty, the visit to India of your grandfather, Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf during the early part of this century was a trail blazer in promoting Sweden's association with India. We are confident that your own visit will enhance the dimensions of the relationship between our two countries.

Towards Peace, Disarmament and Development

TODAY ON THE 76th birth anniversary of Smt. Indira Gandhi, it is my privilege to give away the award instituted in her memory, the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development, to Dr. Saburo Okita, the renowned economist, thinker and builder.

We are sad that the conferment is posthumous. When Dr. Okita passed away in February this year, we, in India, lost a sincere friend held in high esteem for his accumen as an architect of post-War Japanese reconstruction, and his contributions to friendship and cooperation between India and Japan.

Dr. Saburo Okita was a man gifted with remarkable insight and prescient vision as well as extraordinary persuasive ability. Very early in his career, during World War II, Dr. Okita had proposed a shift in emphasis, away from industrial production designed to enhance war-capabilities, to production of food-grains, soyabeans and salt for post-War sustenance. The acceptance and implementation of this approach had saved Japan the trauma of famine in the difficult period of military defeat and occupation. In

Presentation of the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development to Dr. Saburo Okita, New Delhi, 19 November 1993

the immediate post-War period, Dr. Okita had laboured relentlessly to salvage Japan's economy devastated by inflation and depression. Within a decade-and-a-half, economic activity had been restored to pre-War levels. As Director-General of the Planning Bureau of the Economic Planning Agency of Japan, Dr. Okita was instrumental in preparing the National Income Doubling Plan which ushered a further transformation of the Japanese economy and mobilized the eventual rise of Japan as an economic super-power. Pragmatism, cost-consciousness and constant technological innovation characterized Japan's phenomenal progress. In such a context, Dr. Okita's outlook of realism and practical wisdom was well expressed in his warning : "The key problem which will confront Japan in the years ahead is how to live harmoniously with other nations of the world."

He has among the few who recognized the indivisibility of peace and prosperity as also of disaster in the modern world. Stability and progress in other developing regions of the earth were viewed by him as essential to build a truly secure, and improved, quality of life.

It was natural that Dr. Saburo Okita should have been a friend of India and have done so much to nurture mutually beneficial relations between Japan and India. He was a frequent visitor to India and was for several years the Chairman of the Japan-India Joint Committee on Economic Development. In 1977 he delivered the Maulana Azad Memorial Lecture, juxtaposing economies of the developing countries with the experience of economic growth strategies in Japan. In that significant lecture, Dr. Okita stressed the importance of national self-reliance, of learning to absorb and adapt technology, and the dynamic, organic connection between education and development in the sectors of industry and agriculture. Today, sixteen years later, his observations appear as fresh, apposite and helpful as when first expressed. His frankness, sincerity, friendship, and sensitivity to Indian culture touched one and all. He enriched the long-standing relations between India and Japan.

As we know, traditions of friendship between our two countries are centuries old. As far back as in the eighth century A.D. Bodhisena Bharadwaj, a Buddhist monk was invited to Nara by the Emperor Shomu in 736 A.D. to elucidate the doctrine of the Buddha. He was honoured also for his organization of the Japanese syllabary of fifty sounds as a simpler system of writing for the masses. If the Buddha's message of compassion formed a link

between India and Japan over the millenia, the imperatives of Peace and Development draw us closer today. Japan is the only nation to have experienced the horrendous effects of nuclear bombing an event that has left a scar on the memory of every Asian country. Consistently since our Independence, India has voiced humankind's concern for Peace and Disarmament and striven for Development based on mutual understanding, and cooperation. The ancient bonds of friendship between India and Japan are informed today with increasing significance. As Smt. Indira Gandhi had said : "India and Japan should work together to remove disparities and cooperate in ensuring human survival and development."

It is now more than nine years since Smt. Indira Gandhi passed away from our midst, and following the cessation of the cold war, our planet is transiting into a new phase. And yet Smt. Indira Gandhi's hopes and aspirations, perceptions and words of caution, bear a continuing, indeed a greater, relevance. She had said : "Peace needs to be safeguarded. Like righteousness, peace protects us when we protect it." "Only with co-existence can there be existence." "Development, Independence, Disarmament and Peace are closely related."

During the current phase of global transition and adjustment of a new equilibrium and balance between the different nations and regions around the world, there is need for re-doubled endeavour to consolidate and strengthen the forces of peace, accelerate disarmament and energize development. There is a pressing need also to be vigilant. The urge to dominate must be eschewed. Smt. Indira Gandhi had forewarned us about "the continuing pushing domination, the new methods and forms of surrogate colonialism ... the power of, and pressure exerted through, monopoly control of capital; the withholding of technology; the manipulation of information, so subtle and subliminal in influencing minds and attitudes". She had said : "It takes boldness and integrity to resist this." Today an ascendance of democratic outlook in the true and most complete sense of the term is therefore absolutely essential : within and between, nation and nation, region and region, continent and continent. This has been and will remain a key goal of India's endeavours, and none need preach to us on this.

I should like to reiterate here India's total and unflinching commitment to this cause, the cause of Peace, the abolition of nuclear weapons, and the building of a just and equitable world order in which the dignity of every human being and every nation is fully respected.

Third World Unity for New International Order

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in extending a warm welcome to you, Mr. President, and to the members of your delegation. Your name is familiar to and greatly admired by all those who have followed your career as a leader of the anti-colonial struggle in the then British Guyana and the Caribbean. We are therefore particularly delighted to receive you amidst us on a state visit.

I had visited your beautiful country in 1988 to participate in the national celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Indians in Guyana. I recall with pleasure my meetings with you and other leaders of Guyana. It was heartwarming to see the tremendous affection and regard for India among the people of Guyana.

Relations between India and Guyana are strengthened by factors of shared historical and cultural moorings. Our two countries have a long tradition of friendship and cooperation. We have collaborated closely with each other in various international fora, including the U.N., the Commonwealth, and the Non-Aligned Movement. We also share common perceptions on most issues of international concern. Bilateral relations between the two countries have always been full of warmth, goodwill and mutual understanding. I am sure that under your able leadership, our cooperation would continue to grow.

We have been following with deep interest the economic and other developments in your country. I am happy to see that Guyana is well on its way to economic recovery. I am confident that given the enormous potential of your natural resources, this trend of growth will be sustained, and will add substantially to the prosperity of the people of Guyana.

In this context, we are appreciative of the invaluable contribution made by the people of Indian origin in the progress of Guyana.

Excellency, your own long and illustrious political career and assumption of the highest office in your country symbolizes the service and sacrifice rendered by people of Indian origin in Guyana as well as in other lands afar from India. This is a matter of pride for all of us in India.

It has been the conscious policy of my country to share its accumulated experience of the development process with fellow developing countries, through various schemes. One such scheme is the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme. I take this opportunity to express our abiding desire to maintain and enlarge cooperation with Guyana under this Programme. My Government would of course be happy to participate in and contribute to Guyana's developmental efforts through other means as available.

Despite the end of the cold war era, the world remains strife-ridden and with serious problem obstructing peace and development. The developing countries, in particular, yearn for a just and equitable world order. Solidarity among developing countries remains a crucially important pre-requisite for survival and sustenance. When even the developed countries find it necessary to unite for common benefit, it is all the more necessary for developing countries to stand together and cooperate with one another to build peace and progress. Third World unity and collective self-help is indispensable in today's world. India has always stood for the solidarity of developing countries. Both India and Guyana should redouble efforts in this regard.

In our immediate neighbourhood, India has always extended the hand of friendship and cooperation. Certain problems do persist but we are confident that negotiations and dialogue through peaceful means offer the best path for solution of bilateral problems. Regional cooperation through SAARC is yet another dimension of the foreign policies of the countries in South-East Asia to strengthen collective understanding and friendship. We see in your part of the world, a happy trend towards cooperation through 'Caricom' and other joint initiatives.

Excellency, your visit gives us the opportunity to convey to you and through you to the people of Guyana, the sentiments of fraternal affection and friendship that exist in India for the Guyanese people. Your visit is an important event in the history of the friendship between India and Guyana.

For Peace and Progress

ON BEHALF OF the Government and people of India, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you a very warm welcome and to wish you a pleasant and fruitful stay in my country. I recall with great pleasure Your Excellency's visit to Delhi in August 1991.

Your first state visit to India after the emergence of independent Uzbekistan, has provided us an opportunity to renew the ancient ties between India and Uzbekistan. Over many centuries, the exchanges between our countries in commercial, cultural and intellectual fields have enriched both countries. In India we recall with admiration the great contributions to civilization made by savants like Imam Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibin Ismail Al-Bukhari, the great mathematician Al-Khwarizmi and the astronomer Ulugh Beg whose 600th anniversary will be celebrated this year. History has witnessed the Central Asian region being a major confluence of cultural and economic activity and exerting wholesome positive influence in regions connected by the Silk Route. It is our hope that the emergence of independent nations in Central Asia will lead to another cultural renaissance and creative interaction among the nations and peoples of Asia.

India is committed to cooperation with Uzbekistan in wide-ranging fields. During the last two years we have had intense exchanges towards building cooperation for mutual benefit in a variety of political, economic and cultural subjects. India has contributed within the limits of its capacity to human resource development in a large number of developing countries and we are happy that this important aspect of nation building is a sphere in which we are working closely together. I can assure you, Your Excellency, that any suggestions on cooperation in this field from your government will receive an earnest response from us. I am also confident that the detailed discussions. Your Excellency will have with the Ministers of my Government will enhance and intensify cooperation between our two countries and the emergence of an identity of views on diverse subjects of mutual concern. We are well aware of the immense potentialities of Uzbekistan which can transform your country into a land of prosperity and it

will be our endeavour to do our best to make our own contributions in this effort for the common benefit of the peoples of our two countries.

Your Excellency, we have watched with admiration the manner in which Uzbekistan, under your able leadership, is consolidating its Independence and engaging itself in the momentous task of securing the political and economic goals your people have set for themselves. We have noted with admiration the commitment to democracy, secularism and attainment of social justice enshrined in your Constitution. We greatly appreciate commitment to these ideals. Thus it should be our common endeavour to fight the threat of terrorism and narrow extremism which seek to subvert the efforts of governments to achieve economic development, progress and the well-being of the people. This struggle requires the coming together of like-minded states. We have taken many steps together in this direction. I am confident that Your Excellency's visit to India will significantly strengthen this important effort.

On the eve of our Independence, the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had convened an Asian Relations Conference in which our neighbours from Central Asia had participated. In his opening remarks at the Conference, Pandit Nehru had said :

"All over Asia, in an age of mighty transition ... let us have faith in the dream which is taking shape. Let us, above all, have faith in the human spirit which Asia has symbolised for long ages past."

India and Uzbekistan can, by joint effort, vitalize and accelerate the processes of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in Asia for the good of all nations and peoples.

Excellency, your visit gives us the opportunity to express to you and, through you, to the people of Uzbekistan, the warmth and affection that exists in India for the fraternal people of Uzbekistan. Your visit is an important event in our common effort of further deepening the friendship between our two peoples and Government.

Towards an Equitable Order

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome the President of the Czech Republic and his wife on their first state visit to India.

Relations between our two countries are historical, going back to the medieval ages when the kingdom of Bohemia traded with India in precious stones. In recent times, our two nations have established a substantial and many sided relationship. Undivided Czechoslovakia was India's leading trade partner in Central - East Europe. Politically, we have always been appreciative and understanding of each others concerns. Our relationship in the field of science and technology has been characterized by active exchanges. Economic cooperation has also been an important segment of our bilateral ties.

Cultural interaction represents the most enduring aspect of relationships between different peoples. It is a matter of gratification for us that with the Czech Republic, this dates back to more than a century. The interest in Indian languages, philosophy, religion and culture in your country, Excellency, is a testimony to the desire of your people to reach out to a fellow nation which, though separated by distance, shares its basic values and beliefs. The history of our joint intellectual endeavours boast of names such as Rabindranath Tagore and Vincenc Lesny. It is for us to nurture and strengthen this great tradition.

While it is natural that we should strive to expand the content of our bilateral ties, the extraordinary changes which have taken place in your region have forged a new common bond. We in India highly value the democratic, pluralistic way of life. The tradition of tolerance and openness of mind has been a historical stand in the evolution of Indian society. ours is a society of extraordinary diversity, bound together by a shared history, the concept of common civilization and above all, a tradition of reconciling and synthesising different views and positions. Such a country as ours naturally welcomes the advancement of pluralist democracy in any other part of the world and the more so, when the change from authoritarian to the democratic way of life takes place through democratic means, without violence or bloodshed.

Banquet in honour of the Czech President Dr. Vaclav Havel, New Delhi, 7 February 1994

The "Velvet" revolution of your country, Mr. president, under your inspiring leadership, has renewed our firm conviction that truth and justice must ultimately prevail irrespective of the obstacles and difficulties in their path.

Excellency, you have recognised in your writings that hope, when lost, must be sought within oneself and the people around one. You have always rejected dogma and narrow doctrines. Your activities, both intellectual and political, reflect your belief that "Truth is guaranteed only by the full weight of humanity behind it." You have personified the philosophical basis for the changes which culminated in the establishment of democracy in your region. As proponents of non-alignment, non-violence, and human rights, we recognise the significance that your message carries as a basic underpinning of our common quest for a just and equitable international order, both political and economic.

I am confident that the discussions and exchanges of views which Your Excellency will conduct during your visit would prove to be productive and valuable. Your visit will no doubt further strengthen the close and abiding ties between our two countries.

Synthesising Humanism and Politics

IT HAS GIVEN me immense pleasure to present the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development to His Excellency President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic. This award stands in the name of a great Indian and an outstanding world leader. It is an expression of our commitment to deeply cherished human values and goals.

Peace, Disarmament and Development were identified by Smt. Indira Gandhi as innate and vital needs of all nations and

Presenting the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development for the Czech President Dr. Vaclav Havel, New Delhi, 8 February 1994

peoples. This approach flowed from her deep understanding and far-sighted perceptions of the aggregate human condition. Steadfastly, and with indomitable courage, she struggled for the goal of human dignity and well-being. She was a valiant champion of peace and the building of One World in a period during which humankind was transfixed by the powerful tensions of the cold war. Indira Gandhi pursued a goal defined by the heritage of India's thought and articulated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the emerging moments of our freedom. In the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru had said: "Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is Freedom, so is Prosperity now and so also is Disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

There is a happy appositeness in the conferment of this prestigious Award on the outstanding intellectual, humanist and leader of the Czech Republic. His land and people had fascinated and deeply moved Indira Gandhi. She had said: "I first came to Prague with my father in my student days during one of the dark periods of European history.... for me it was political education.... As important truth was etched in my mind: How much depends on courage." These were her words spoken at the Charles University in Prague in June 1972 when referring to the impression on her mind and spirit received during her visit with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Prague just before the Second World War, in 1938.

The years spanning the World War II were also the period of the culmination of India's struggle for freedom and human dignity. Significantly, Smt. Indira Gandhi had observed: "It was on the anvil of adversity that a deep bond was forged between us": the people of India and the people of President Havel's own homeland.

It is a part of history now that during the struggle for freedom in India, our great national leaders clearly held aloft the cause of human dignity, human rights, and the freedom of people in every land. Thus Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Presidential Address to the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress in 1936 had said: "To the progressive forces of the world, to those who stand for human freedom and the breaking of political and social bonds, we offer our full cooperation in their struggle against imperialism and fascist reaction, for we realise that our struggle is a common one.... We represent the Spirit of the Age and march step by step with countless others in our country and outside. The exhilaration of being in tune with the masses and with world

forces comes upon us and the feeling that we are the agents of historic destiny.”

A great and poignant history forms the backdrop to the emphatic articulation of human rights in our constitution. The nation-wide commitment of our people to our national values is the true basis of our progress. This approach has been formed by us by drawing from our own culture and ethos, gaining strength from our own great leaders and thinkers, and assimilating the noblest streams of thought from all directions.

A central element of India's spiritual heritage has been the reverence of diverse courses of thought, belief and faith. We have believed this to be essential for the building of a civilised society in which the inherent creativity and genius of the people may find free and natural expression. Indeed, it is this outlook that has sustained India and had prevailed over the policy of divide *et impera*. This is an important message from India to other countries of the world.

In President Vaclav Havel we see a kindred soul. We have in President Havel an original thinker, a creative spirit and a statesman whose ideas and leadership inspire a new and deeply sensitive awareness of the meaning and needs of human existence. The gentle “Velvet Revolution” in President Havel's country exemplified the ideals of humanism, non-violence and truth which are deeply cherished national values in India.

President Vaclav Havel has been impelling sweeping changes in Europe. We see him as one of the foremost intellectuals of our time and a man of great courage and conviction. Jailed three times for a period of almost five years, he has journeyed with unflinching faith through darkness to a new dawn. Vaclav Havel voiced the conscience of his nation and even his opponents eventually recognised that he would remain ever staunch and faithful to his principles and beliefs.

In an essay titled: “The Power of the Powerless” written in 1978, Vaclav Havel had said, “Ideology, in creating a bridge of excuses between the system and the individual, spans the abyss between the aims of the system and the aims of life. It pretends that the requirements of the system derive from the requirements of life. It is a world of appearances trying to pass for reality.”

The real question he stated is: “Whether the brighter future is really always so distant. What if, on the contrary, it has been

here for a long time already, and only our own blindness and weakness has prevented us from seeing it around us and within us, and kept us from developing it?" He stressed the need for common initiatives, synthesis, harmony and understanding which can transform the human condition.

President Havel has brought to bear on the political arena his great faculties as a thinker, writer and leader.

In 1977, President Havel was a co-founder of the Charter 77 Human Rights Initiative. He was also a member of the Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Prosecuted. His continued activism in defence of human rights and liberties led to his imprisonment from 1979 to 1983. After his release, Vaclav Havel wrote three major plays, *Largo Desolato*, *Temptation* and *Slum Clearance*. In the *Largo Desolato*, he has graphically portrayed the pressures faced by a dissident author and thinker. In November 1989, President Havel became one of the leaders of the Civic Forum movement. It is a tribute to his leadership and his message that when Czechoslovakia chose to separate into the Czech and Slovak Republics, the parting was non-violent and peaceful.

The changes stimulated by the non-violent movement for democratic reform in Europe have far-reaching significance. Europe has witnessed the resurrection of pluralistic democracy, enabling the people to fashion their societies according to their own national genius. The message of the dissident playwright Havel has indeed had a powerful impact on the course of modern European history. This message, of pluralism, harmony and oneness, so close to Indira Gandhi's heart, has augmented positively the processes of peace and understanding in the world.

In January 1990, President Havel had expressed an aspiration and a goal, "Our country... can now permanently radiate love, understanding, the power of spirit and ideas. It is precisely this glow that we can offer as our specific contribution to international politics."

We recognise these words as having been inspired by the very ideals that Smt. Indira Gandhi, and before her Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, held aloft as a torch to illumine the path for generations to follow.

President Havel has done signal service in restoring to politics its essential moral dimension. Synthesising humanism with poli-

tics his message is for the building of a society based on human dignity, hope and truth. He is indeed a worthy recipient of the Indira Gandhi Prize 1993. His acceptance of this award reflects the powerful, cultural, intellectual and spiritual bond connecting India and the Czech Republic. It also symbolizes the relevance of our common ideals and commitment for building a better world.

Expand Indo-Mongolian Economic Cooperation

IT IS A great pleasure to extend a hearty welcome to Your Excellency and Madam Ochirbat on the occasion of your state visit to India. I recall with great pleasure my own visit to your beautiful country in April 1992 when the warmth of your hospitality and the beauty of your country left a deep impression on me.

India and Mongolia have had warm and friendly relations through history. The people of India feel a particular closeness with Mongolia, a fellow Asian nation, and one with which we share many common perceptions on international issues. The message of Lord Buddha was carried from India to your country. The Moghul dynasty of India traced their ancestry to Mongol heroes.

India-Mongolia relations have deepened and grown in recent years. It is a matter of particular satisfaction for me that our bilateral cooperation in the spheres of economy, trade, cultural and technological cooperation has been further strengthened through the signing of a number of agreements between our two countries. Excellency, I would like to assure you that we in India will continue to build on our traditional political and cultural linkages with Mongolia to give new dimensions to our relationship, promoting mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

During Your Excellency's visit we shall be signing a significant Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation which would be

a landmark in further cementing our bilateral relationship. We would like to develop our relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, namely mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. I am confident that the Treaty will provide a multifaceted framework of cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. It is principles such as these which must form the norms for international behaviour in the multipolar world towards which we are moving.

India and Mongolia are both Non-Aligned countries with a common approach to several world issues. Both our Governments are committed to the UN, and its basic purposes and principles as enshrined in the UN Charter. We are wedded to the replacement of the present world order by one which is just, equitable and democratic, a world does not face the threat of nuclear weapons.

The people of Mongolia under your able stewardship are engaged in the task of economic restructuring. We have followed with great interest and appreciation the new ideas and initiatives which Your Excellency has introduced in Mongolia. We on our part have carried out a policy of economic reform and change which will help us in building an efficient economy without compromising our commitment to self-reliance. There are complementary sectors in our two economies which open up new possibilities for trade and economic cooperation between India and Mongolia. We hope to work to realise the potentialities that have been identified by your visit and in our discussions earlier today.

Strengthening Indo-Polish Friendship

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you, President Walesa and Madame Walesa, on your first state visit to India. I trust you would have a pleasant and fruitful stay in my country.

Banquet hosted in honour of Polish President Lech Walesa, New Delhi, 3 March 1994

Excellency, relations between India and Poland have always been characterised by the tradition of mutual understanding, goodwill and friendship.

In the period of India's struggle for independence our great leaders, particularly Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, viewed the people of Poland as compatriots in a great cause; the cause of human dignity and freedom to which both our nations stood committed.

When the dark forces of fascism had engulfed Poland, the courageous resistance of the Polish people evoked admiration in India.

Equally, there has been deep appreciation in my country, of Poland's distinctive contribution to the treasure house of human knowledge and achievement. Your mathematicians and scientists, your astronomers — among whom the name of Copernicus shines brightest, — your artists, writers and musicians have a position of respect in our country. We also value greatly the tradition of Indological studies in Poland and the cultural interaction of India's thinkers, academicians, poets and writers, with the people and institutions in Poland.

The democratic developments that occurred in Poland over the last decade, have been an important catalyst in changing not only the face of Europe but in ending the cold war and this, fundamentally transforming international relations. Your own contribution to the Polish revolution, Excellency, has been of crucial significance. Democracy and pluralism are not new ideas and the search for human dignity is as old as humanity itself. Yet, the Polish people in their own struggle for these values under your inspiring leadership, have added a new chapter to the pages of history. They have renewed the world's awareness of the importance of solidarity among the people, and faith in the common man, who instinctively distinguishes between right and wrong, justice and injustice, and is invincible when aroused and inspired.

A sense of identity and affinity vitalizes the multi-dimensional growth in the bilateral ties between India and Poland. Economic and industrial cooperation is a major facet of this relationship, which has benefited both countries. The collaboration between us has covered a wide range of areas : from mining and industrial machinery to chemicals, metal products and agricultural equip-

ment. joint projects in science and technology have been to mutual advantage. Bilateral trade has been substantial and the Joint Commission and Joint Business Council have been institutional mechanisms to encourage our economic contacts. The changes which have taken place in both countries however call for fresh and innovative approaches and we have been encouraged to note the role of the Joint Business Council in bringing the entrepreneurs of our countries together.

We in India are deeply committed to our open society. Our tradition and ethos of pluralism, harmony and oneness gives us an atmosphere naturally conducive to the growth and development of democracy and to endeavour to build world for all.

Committed as both our countries are to the democratic way of life, it is only natural that the extraordinary changes which have taken place in Poland should augment and enhance the bonds of friendship between our two countries based on shared values and beliefs. We look forward to the further development of friendly and mutually beneficial cooperation in the varied spheres of our interaction. Your Excellency's visit will, we are confident, give fresh impetus to the close and abiding friendship and cooperation between India and Poland.

Fundamentalism—Threat to South-Asian Stability

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to welcome your Excellency and Madame Gayoom to India once again. We wish you and your delegation a very pleasant stay in our country.

The bonds between our two countries extend beyond mere regional geography. Our historical ties have been cemented by a relationship of mutual goodwill, friendship and cooperation which has developed in recent times. This is in no small measure due to

the leadership which you have provided to Maldives. We therefore note with satisfaction your re-election as the President for a fourth term with a strong mandate from your people. In your election, the people of Maldives have expressed their appreciation and support for your visionary policies of balanced development, social harmony and peace and stability in our region.

India accords a high priority to maintaining good relations with its immediate neighbours. India and Maldives enjoy a cordial relationship, full of goodwill and free from problems, which may serve as an example to others. It is our shared commitment to further consolidate, strengthen and diversify our ties in all fields of human endeavour. In this context, I am glad that the Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Your Excellency, is soon to become operational. We hope it will become a living symbol of our close and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Excellency, we have watched with admiration and interest the constitutional and socio-economic reforms your Government has taken up in order to meet the changing needs of your people even while maintaining your country's traditional values and safeguarding its unique natural heritage. Our goals and approach are similar. One of your primary goals for future socio-economic investment, namely, "the creation of economically productive young persons" is also our national aspiration. We, in India, would be glad to make whatever modest contribution we can to assist you in your endeavours.

India's ethos and culture are based on harmony and synthesis and respect for the individuality of all religions, cultures and languages. Fostering and consolidating these intrinsic and fundamental values has been our national priority. Any attempts to damage the national and secular fabric will hinder the country's progress and adversely affect the region as a whole. Excellency, we in India welcome your call to the Maldivian people to be aware of the dangers of fundamentalism, which alongwith terrorism, are the main threats to South Asia's stability and security.

Our subcontinent is historically and geographically intertwined and inseparable. Amongst us, it is by cooperation, not confrontation, that the region can be at peace with itself and move forward on the path of progress. That SAARC is increasingly becoming an effective vehicle of regional economic cooperation is a

matter of satisfaction. Growing exchanges in varied fields of mutual interest and the signing of the Framework Agreement on SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) constitute important milestones in intra-regional cooperation.

The contribution of Maldives to creating a climate conducive to the development of SAARC is acknowledged. Your Excellency's proposal to declare 1994 as SAARC Year of the Youth has been well-received. It is a fitting tribute to Your Excellency's contribution and commitment that the Ministerial Conference on Youth in South Asia will be held in Maldives this year.

India is firmly committed to SAARC and it is our sincere desire to strengthen it for the common benefit of the SAARC member states. We view as an encouraging sign that SAARC is endeavouring to evolve common positions on important matters. Your Excellency's continued interest in SAARC will also give it the momentum to take significant steps forward in joining us together in common goals of progress and development.

Excellency, may I once again welcome you and your distinguished delegation to India.

A Tradition of Fruitful Cooperation

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome your Excellency and your distinguished delegation to India. I wish you a pleasant and fruitful stay in my country.

Our ties, Excellency, can be traced back in the modern era to the visit of India's national poet. Rabindranath Tagore to Argentina seventy years ago. Tagore's 'Purabi' was written near Buenos Aires and is dedicated to Vijaya - which in Sanskrit stands for Victory. Indeed, Tagore truly brought India to Argentina, and his association with your country adds a background of fine sentiment to our relations.

The bonds of friendship and cooperation between our two countries have developed transcending limitations of geography. As two large nations with distinct interests and many shared positions on the nature of the global order, India and Argentina have developed a tradition of fruitful bilateral interaction and constructive cooperation in international fora. Agreements in trade, culture and economic, scientific and technical fields already exist. I am confident that vigorous implementation of these agreements would continue to provide a durable basis for our bilateral ties.

Excellency, we have followed, with keen interest and appreciation, Argentina's achievements in various fields of development in recent years. The impressive advances registered are in large measure due to the pragmatic policies boldly pursued by your Government. Here, in India, we have embarked to carry forward this agenda of reform. We believe that India and Argentina can secure significant mutual benefits by sharing each other's experience. Our growing economic capacities can provide substantial scope for further cooperation which we should endeavour to intensify. The post-cold war era requires all nations to strive to safeguard peace and develop a new and more stable basis for international relations. It is the duty of all possible states to ensure that at this juncture in the history of the world, the wherewithal for building an equitable and peaceful global order does not dissipate amidst new insecurities. Proxy wars, state-sponsored terrorism and narrow dogmatism have emerged as sinister threats to freedom, democracy and human rights. These dangers must be faced resolutely as we endeavour to build a better world.

Excellency, India and Argentina were signatories to the 'Six-Nation, Five Continent' appeal which had declared, "We have faith in the capacity of human beings to rise above the current divisions ... The power and ingenuity of the human race must be used, not to perfect weapons of annihilation but to harness the resources of the earth so that all people may enjoy a life of security and dignity in an international system free of war and based on peace and justice." That was a major initiative undertaken ten years ago by us, and has today a more compelling urgency.

It is heartening that there is growing realisation that the future of all human beings, peoples and nations is inextricably bound together. We encounter many major common problems, and so too, must we devise and implement common solutions. In your

continent, and in ours. Excellency the benefits of regional cooperation are being increasingly realised. Regional grouping are but the means to our common goal of greater global understanding, friendship and cooperation.

As the logic of global interdependence gains wider acceptance, commensurate measures need to be instituted to re-define the structure and dynamics of the world's economy to ensure mutually beneficial, equitable, and self-sustaining trends of growth in the economic relations between countries. It is essential that the potential for such economic growth must not be allowed to be stifled by new barriers, or subordinated to narrow political considerations. This was an important message, of the G-15, to which we both stand committed.

Excellency, I vividly recall that during her visit to Argentina in 1968, Smt. Indira Gandhi had stated : "Mankind can progress only if all barriers to the meeting of minds and the flow of ideas are removed, and every country can contribute to the progress of the whole human race." It is for the realization of this ideal of One World with the common future that our two great nations should strive and make common cause.

Common Bonds through the Ages

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to receive from His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand, the Letters of Credence, appointing you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Thailand to the Republic of India, as well as the Letter of Recall of your predecessor. I extend a warm welcome to you and hope that you will find your tenure here satisfying and meaningful.

I would also like to thank His Majesty the King for the kind sentiments he has expressed towards me as well as towards India.

Accepting the credentials from Mr. Vichai Vannasin, Ambassador-designate of Thailand, New Delhi, 2 April 1994

I should also like you to convey my best wishes to His Majesty the King for his continued good health and personal well-being, as also for the happiness and prosperity of the people of Thailand.

Excellency, the ties that bind India and Thailand indeed, date back to antiquity. Our commitment to the ideals of democracy, secularism and international peace and understanding are rooted in the common bond that we have shared through the ages. Both our countries are committed to the quest for improving the quality of life of our peoples. These are firm foundations on which our present cooperation is built.

Thailand has made rapid strides in the development of its social and economic infrastructure in the last decade. With our own economy opening up now, unlimited opportunities exist for furthering mutual cooperation that can impart fresh stimulus to our present relations. Our shared endeavours in areas of high technology can reap benefits not only for our two countries but for the entire region and the developing world as a whole. This is also in keeping with the ideals of South-South Cooperation to which both the countries are deeply committed.

It is a matter of satisfaction that India and the ASEAN have initiated a sectoral dialogue in areas of trade, investment, tourism and science and technology. The sectoral dialogue has the potential to further reinforce bilateral relations between India and each ASEAN member state as well. We hope that in the days to come, the sectoral dialogue will get expanded so as to encompass more and more areas of mutual interest. We appreciate the support extended by Thailand for enhancing the levels of our interaction with ASEAN.

The world today is in the throes of fundamental change. While responding creatively to these changes, it is necessary for all societies to preserve the underlying traditional values that bind them and to guard against forces within and without that disrupt the harmony and unity of our societies.

You have come to India at a time when the country is marching ahead in its economic reform programme with full determination and zeal. Virtually all sectors of the economy are responding well to the new policies of the Government. The investment climate is buoyant, reflecting strong investor confidence in India's economic performance. We fully recognise however, that a great deal more needs to be done. We are confident that

we would be able to move ahead in our efforts to integrate the Indian economy with the global economy. India and Thailand can work together in many areas, in their mutual efforts to make sustained progress.

Excellency, accept my best wishes in your assignment as Ambassador of Thailand to India. Let me assure you that we will extend our full cooperation in your efforts to bring India and Thailand closer together.

Economic Development and Equity

I DEEM IT a great privilege to be invited to address the first National Assembly of Bulgaria elected under the new Constitution. I would like to extend to all the honourable members, heartiest felicitations and greetings. I do so on behalf of myself and my delegation and on behalf of the Government, Parliament and the people of India.

having been a Parliamentarian for many years, I feel a particular kinship with you on this occasion. My thoughts go back to those heady initial days of our own Republic when we had just elected our first Parliament. It was the good fortune of our young nation that we had at the helm of affairs a true democrat in the person of our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I vividly recall his words :

“Democracy is not only political, not only economic, but something of the mind. It involves equality of opportunity to all the people as far as possible in the political and economic domain. It involves the freedom of the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and ability. It involves a certain tolerance of others and even of others’ opinion when they differ from yours.”

Today is the 30th anniversary of the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru. I pay respectful tribute to his memory as an outstanding world leader of great vision who rendered invaluable service to the cause of Parliamentary Democracy. Pandit Nehru lives in the vitality of the institutions and processes of democracy in India. Indeed, his contribution is of permanent value to the dynamics of politics around the world.

As the democratically elected Parliament emerging from the first multi-party elections in your nation, you are the torch-bearers of a new order. You represent the truly expressed will of your people and I have great pleasure in conveying to you the salutations of the largest democracy in the world.

The wherewithal of democracy: the spirit, concepts, mechanisms, practices and tradition, have been developed in India from ancient times. The outlook of respect for the views and beliefs of others, faith in reconciliation of divergent interests, and commitment to the coexistence of different communities is a part of our national heritage. Our ancient *Vedas* enjoined the outlook of synthesis, accommodation and cooperation. The message of compassion of Lord Buddha, and the edicts of the great Emperor Ashoka, were a powerful influence towards pluralism and harmony.

Indeed, if our history has bequeathed to us an intellectual and social legacy, it is that of understanding, harmony and synthesis. These are the key concepts that vitalize our civilization, and democracy is their manifestation in our political life.

Similarly, respect for the Rule of Law has been a perennial feature in our ethos. Law in our society has historically been identified with Truth. It is envisaged not as an institution of convenience, nor just as a mechanism to ensure order, but as the ethical basis for the state and its constitutional system. One of our great political philosophers, summed this up in his observation that, "Law and morality sustain the world."

The technicalities of democratic functioning were also developed in ancient India. These included the composition and functioning of a representative assembly, committees and sub-committees, quorum, ballots, secret ballots, party whips, resolutions, and even voting by proxy. Maintenance of records of proceedings and the use of precedents was in vogue. All this gave to India, the tissue and substance, the sinew and form of a democratic body

politic inspired by a heritage of thought and spirit that informed the whole of India. This created an enduring tradition of democratic mechanisms such as the village councils which today provide the grass-root basis throughout the country for a modern Parliamentary democracy.

The translation of democratic values and traditions into a structured Parliamentary democracy was also influenced by central characteristics of our freedom movement. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi this struggle for independence had as its basis a deep commitment to human freedom, dignity and non-violence. Precisely because it was uniquely peaceful, it instilled in its participants an abiding faith that any political change in free India must be peaceful. Moreover, in a society with an intensely individualistic ethos, there was a natural preference for a political system which would safeguard human rights and encourage popular participation without curbing individual freedom. The prolonged nature of our freedom struggle allowed for deep introspection on the part of its leaders and time for experience to determine the gestation of their discussions. At the session of Indian National Congress at Karachi in March 1931, a historic resolution on fundamental rights was adopted — having been moved by the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from basic human rights and freedoms which were specifically listed in the Resolution, Mahatma Gandhi also referred to the right to protection of culture, language and scripts of the minorities, abolition of disabilities attached to women in public employment, and many other aspects vital in the creation of democracy and a Welfare State.

The adoption of Parliamentary Democracy in India thus represented the culture of synthesis. Parliamentary Democracy is the political system most suited to India's cultural ethos and political aspiration. In an address on February 25, 1956 Nehru said about Democracy :

“It is the right means to achieve ends and because it is a peaceful method. Secondly, because it removes the pressures which other forms of government may impose on the individual. It transforms the discipline which is imposed by authority into self-discipline ... Democracy gives the individual an opportunity to develop.”

Elections represent a key aspect of democratic process, for the nature of transition of political power is really its defining charac-

teristic. We can today proudly claim to be a robustly vibrant democracy, in which all shades of opinion find free expression. Ten general elections have been held and on the last occasion, in 1991, almost 280 million people voted to decide who their representatives should be.

A democracy is, however, not merely a matter of elections. Every political process, has its rules and regulations, its traditions and conventions. True democracy synthesises the rights and duties of the individual and the State. Democratic politics embodies the principles of continuity and change, so important to the life of a nation. And ultimately, what makes or breaks a democratic system are qualities of self-discipline and restraint. For it is through discipline and enlightened self-interest that problems are solved peacefully. And it is only when there is peace and understanding that there can be democratic consensus and national development. To my mind, true development which is multi-dimensional must have as its pre-requisite a democratic culture.

Democracy demands a holistic approach. The democratic way of life has many dimensions. Since it presumes the equality of all human beings its economic dimension is also very significant. Freedom, after all, has little meaning unless there is equality, and equality has little meaning without economic betterment of the masses. There is, therefore, an organic link between democratic thought and socio-economic justice.

This National Assembly which I have the honour to address today, represents an essential link between the aspirations of the people of Bulgaria and the Government which they have democratically chosen. We, in India, attach great importance to the consolidation of your parliamentary institutions as we see in them a strong common bond uniting our two countries.

It was for this reason that after the enactment of your new Constitution, the Speaker of our House of People led a delegation of Parliamentarians to Bulgaria, and we in India received a Parliamentary delegation led by Mr. Yordanov. We look forward to strengthening these institutional contacts in the years ahead.

In 1879, your nation drew up the Turnovo Constitution which envisaged an elected single chamber Parliament. Historical circumstances did not allow that particular experiment to take hold. After a gap of more than a century, the democratic era has dawned once again, and the people of India rejoice at your achievement.

I would like to quote here a verse in Sanskrit from the *Rig Veda* — the earliest recorded literature of humankind which bears special relevance to representative institutions, and is our common heritage :

सं गच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं सं वो ममांसि जानताम् ।
 समानो मंत्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः सह चित्तम् एषाम् ।
 समानं मन्त्रम् जमि मंत्रये वः
 समानो व आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः
 समानम् अस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

“Assemble; speak with one another; Let your minds be of one accord. May your aim be common, your assembly common; common the mind, and the thoughts of those united. A common purpose do I lay before you; common be your aim, and your hearts united; May your mind be one, so that all live happily together.”

With these words, I once again express to you the fraternal greetings of the Government, Parliament and the people of India and my sincere thanks for the singular honour done to me, in inviting me to address this august Assembly.

Peace and Prosperity Indivisible

IT IS INDEED a great pleasure to be in your midst today. I thank you for your kind words of welcome and the warmth of hospitality with which we have been received.

Excellency, ties between India and Romania go back to ancient times when trade with India traversed Romanian lands, and the many pathways of acculturation witnessed a concourse between the people of this region and the people of the Indian sub-continent.

In the modern era, the sharing of human knowledge was a common bond between our intelligentsia and serves as a bridge of understanding between our peoples. A hymn from one of our scriptures, the *Rig Veda*, which is part of the common heritage of humankind, was translated into Romanian as far back as in 1864. The interest in India was evident in the nurturing of Indological studies, largely due to the efforts of Constantin Georgian. Our national poet Rabindranath Tagore's brief visit to Bucharest was a landmark in our cultural ties. So, indeed, was the prodigious work by Mircea Eliade on the history of religions. Both cultures emerged richer from their interaction and I mention, as an example, the influence of Indian philosophy on the writings of your famous poet Mihai Eminescu. This shared intellectual heritage, so painstakingly nurtured gives a basis of great significance to our growing relations.

Romania and India are both heterogeneous and culturally diverse lands, inhabited by people of various ethnicities. These diversities are actually a source of national strength, for they have, at heart, universal values which constitute the spirit of the composite culture.

India has historically been the home and refuge for religions and philosophies from all over the world. Romania too has been traditionally open to winds of knowledge and the movement of ideas. The resulting synthesis has added to the inner strength and richness of our respective cultures. pluralism, oneness and harmony comprise the message of India's culture, and Romania too exemplifies synthesis. We, in India, remain committed to the vision articulated by our first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who said in an address on January 24, 1948 at the Aligarh Muslim University :

"India will be a land, as in the past, of many faiths, equally honoured and respected, but of one national outlook, which, believing in itself and the genius of its people, takes full part in the establishment of an international order. The only ultimate aim we can have is that of One World."

When we became independent, the Indian people made an unambiguous choice in favour of democracy as a form of Government. over the years, we have held firm to the principles of political pluralism. The distinguished Parliamentarians and leaders in my delegation represent the spectrum of India's demo-

cratic polity. Naturally, we watched with interest the dramatic changes that have occurred in your country. I believe that our two nations are now closer today in terms of their basic orientation and values.

The Declaration of Principles and Directions of Cooperation which shall be signed during my visit in an affirmation of long-term significance of the new basis for our relationship, which we seek to consolidate and further enhance in the times ahead.

Excellency, the last few years have witnessed active interaction at different levels and in various fields between our two countries. While the exchange of parliamentary delegations symbolised our shared political values, the conclusion of agreements in the field of trade and science and technology represented our common determination to impart more content to our relationship. The economic restructuring underway in India and the reform programme initiated in your country provide significant opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation. The eminent industrialists in my delegation, represent India's determined endeavour to diversify, magnify and mobilize greater economic interaction with Romania. We are confident that Indo-Romanian relations will be more dynamic, substantive and multifaceted. We look forward to working with your Government to attain this shared objective.

The closing decade of the present century is a time of opportunity and challenge. The magnitude of the problems facing the world today is such that no nation can afford to live in isolation. Peace and prosperity are indeed indivisible in this common world of ours. India and Romania are both committed to the cause of peace and the building of an equitable, safe and prosperous world order. I am confident that our joint endeavours will make a significant contribution in this cause — for the mutual benefit of our two countries as well as the good of all humankind.

Augment Indo-Romanian Relations

I CONSIDER IT a great privilege to be accorded this opportunity to address the Joint Session of the two Houses of the Romanian Parliament.

I have immense pleasure in extending to you heartiest greetings and felicitations from the Government, Parliament and the people of India. May I add that under our Constitution, the Parliament for the Union consists of the President and two Houses known respectively as the Council of States and the House of the People.

As the elected representatives of the people of Romania, you epitomise their struggle for freedom and their striving for development. your endeavours represents the creative urges and energies of your society which are harnessed today to the cause of democracy and political pluralism, human rights and individual freedom. You have the heavy responsibility of translating national aspirations into reality. Inevitably, there would be a special sense of being the chosen instruments of the Romanian people's will at this critical juncture of history.

Having participated in our own freedom struggle and with a long association with the process of Parliamentary Democracy, I can well understand the challenges and opportunities before you. We, in India, regard the establishment of Parliamentary Democracy in Romania as a very significant and welcome development. It was for this reason that a Parliamentary delegation, led by the Speaker of our House of the People, visited Romania at the beginning of your political transition to democracy, and later, we received in India a delegation from your Parliament.

In my own delegation, I have a select group of very distinguished Ministers and Parliamentarians.

H.E. Shri S.B.Chavan is the Union Home Minister and the Leader of the House in the Council of States. H.E.Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad hails from the State of Jammu and Kashmir and is the

Union Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism. H.E. Shri Arvind Netam, is the Minister of State for Agriculture and is from the largest State in India. h.E. Shri Salman Khursheed is the Minister of State for External Affairs and happens to be the grandson of the third President of my country, Dr. Zakir Husain. There is Shri Sushilkumar Shinde, M.P., who is General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, Shri V. Narayanasamy, M.P., who is the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Shri Shivajirao Giridhar Patil, M.P., a leader of the Cooperative Movement, and Shri Syed Sibtey Razi, M.P., who is the Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Science and Technology. Shri Ramdas Agarwal, M.P. is from Rajasthan, where his party, the party in Opposition at the Centre, is in power. Shri Shankar Dayal Singh, M.P. is a noted author and litterateur in Hindi from Bihar where his party is in power. Shri Maulana Obaidulla Khan Azmi, M.P. is also from the same party and a scholar of Arabic. He hails from a State with a population of 139 million (in 1981), Shri S. Ramachandran Pillai, M.P. is a Politburo Member of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which is in power in two States, and Shri Loknath Choudhary, M.p. is a member of the House of the People, a Deputy Leader of his party, the C.P.I., in Parliament. A wide spectrum of political opinion in my country is thus represented here, and expresses support for the democratic changes in Romania.

Freedom and democracy have not come easily to the people of Romania, and are all the more valuable for that. We can well understand the significance of the red band in your national flag which immortalises those who shed their blood for the independence and sovereignty of Romania. I pay tribute to their courage and sacrifice. It has been the experience of most countries that the consolidation of Independence and establishment of an acceptable form of governance is a challenge of a magnitude, akin to the freedom struggle itself.

Undoubtedly there are certain values and tenets which serve as guiding principles. There is need for greater acceptance of political pluralism and intrinsic feature of true democracy. Ensuring the observance of human rights and individual freedoms must be considered basic to any civilized society. These need to have their own instrumentalities and safeguards such as an independent judiciary and a free press.

At the same time, it is important to appreciate that freedom is not an end in itself. It is, more often, the beginning of an arduous journey towards perfecting the human condition in tune with values, ideals and cherished goals. Such a journey is accomplished with less difficulty when there is a nationwide resolve and consensus, and sincere recourse to the method and mechanisms of democracy.

The ins of democracy by itself does not put an end to differences of views within society. on the contrary, opinions multiply when there is freedom of thought, expression of speech. It is a challenging task to harmonise and reconcile these differences, and evolve a consensus, a middle way, equitable, reasonable and acceptable to all. This requires experience, insight, vision and tolerance of views other than ones' own, as also a willingness to effect compromise through negotiation and dialogue.

The supreme advantage of democracy is that it is the best system towards sythesising peacefully and productively, the divergent interests of individuals, groups and communities in a manner most beneficial to all.

The decisive choices made by the Romanian people in favour of freedom and democracy find deep resonance in the ethos of the Indian people. It is but natural that the Parliaments of the two countries, which represent the will and the power of the two peoples, should have a special role in bringing the two countries closer to each other. Contacts have already been established, and it is a matter of satisfaction that a growing pattern of interaction has emerged at the Parliamentary level. We are particularly touched by your initiative in establishing an 'Indian Room' in your new Parliament building.

Excellencies and Honourable Members, India and Romania have had cultural and trade contacts going back many centuries. It is now the auspicious time to renew, enhance, and augment Indo-Romanian relations, as between sister democracies with the Parliamentary form of Government for the mutual benefit of our two peoples and in the cause of global peace and well-being.

May I once again express to you the fraternal greetings of the Government, Parliament and the people of India, and my sincere thanks for the great honour done to me in inviting me to address this Joint Session of the two Houses of the Romanian Parliament.

Multifaceted Indo-US Relations

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to receive your credentials accrediting you as the Ambassador of the United States of America to India, and the letter of recall of your predecessor. On behalf of the people and Government of India, I welcome you and hope your stay in India will be pleasant and productive. We believe your presence in Delhi will accelerate the process of building the “new pp” between our two countries agreed upon between Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and President Clinton during the Prime Minister’s recent visit to the USA.

Mr. Ambassador, you arrive in our country at a time when the world is undergoing a period of transformation. With our shared commitment to democracy and growing complementarities of our two countries now have the opportunity to set aside the distortions in our bilateral relations brought about by the cold war, and to play an important role in shaping the cause of international cooperation in the years ahead. We recognize that a world free from conflict is still a distant dream. The international community has however begun to shoulder its responsibilities in a manner envisaged in the charter of the United Nations. Our two countries have demonstrated, along with other countries that have contributed to UN peace-keeping efforts, the capacity of the world body to assist in the maintenance of peace and security in the new and unfamiliar situations being thrown up in the post-cold war World.

New forms and structures of international cooperation, laying the foundations for stability and economic development, are in the offing. India and the United States have agreed that the democratic way of life and dynamic economic growth provide the best means for achieving the twin objectives of world peace and development. The spirit of democracy cannot only be confined to national societies; it must also inform relations among countries and the functioning of international organizations. We wish to work with the US Government in meeting the challenges ahead in fulfilling our common bilateral and international objectives.

Accepting the credentials from the Ambassador-designate of USA, Mr. Frank Wisner, New Delhi, 2 August 1994

The meetings in May between Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and President Clinton have paved the way for a rapid expansion in the exchanges between our two countries on the full range of our bilateral contacts. The programme of high-level visits has made an early and productive start with the successful journey to India of the US Energy Secretary. Other visits at high levels will provide further impetus to Indo-US cooperation and consultations.

The edifice of Indo-US relations rests on the foundation of an intricate and expanding web of economic, cultural, scientific and people-to-people ties. The US is our largest trading partner and the single largest source of foreign private investment. Our programme of economic restructuring and liberalisation which began three years ago, has received the support of the US Government and a strong positive response from American business community. Rapid growth of Indo-US trade and investment will provide an expanding base for the further diversification of our bilateral relations.

India and the US have cooperated closely during the course of the international negotiations on the Chemical Weapons Convention and are similarly cooperating in the multilateral negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and a non-discriminatory global convention to ban the production of fissile material for weapons purposes. These will be important steps in making progress towards our shared goal of the elimination of all nuclear weapons and building a peaceful, non-violent world.

International terrorism is a scourge of our times and has been denounced by both our Governments. Externally sponsored terrorism with an extremist thrust is a particular thread to multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual societies like India. We expect the goodwill and moral support of friendly countries with pluralistic and democratic societies in this task, and cooperation in international efforts to eliminate terrorism, particularly narco-terrorism.

Excellency, Indo-US relations are multi-faceted and varied, extending from one of the largest science and technology cooperation programmes in the world to cultural and social ties reinforced by the familial bonds of the one million persons of Indian origin who have made the United States their home. I am confident that

during your tenure you will make every effort to serve the cause of qualitative and quantitative improvement in Indo-US relations so as to materialize our shared beliefs and vision.

I wish you every success in your assignment and assure you of my Government's fullest cooperation in this task.

Deep-rooted Indo-Saudi Ties

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. I should like to thank you for conveying the good wishes of Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, His Majesty King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud, and His Royal Highness Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, which I sincerely reciprocate. I avail myself of this opportunity to convey through you the greetings of the Government and people of the Republic of India to the Government and the people of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. I am deeply touched by your warm and friendly references to my country and my countrymen.

We greatly value the deep rooted ties of friendship that bring together India and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. We are proud to have a multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society in India which is a living testimony to the confluence of several religions, cultures and civilizations through history. The Arab world, of which Saudi Arabia is a prominent country, has made a substantial and valuable contribution to our cultural mosaic.

In the context of the global transition to which you have referred, it is necessary for our two moderate and peace-loving countries to cooperate with each other in the interest of regional peace, stability and security. We are convinced that our substantive and deep ties with your country are a stabilising factor in the South-West Asian region and beyond. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is already our second largest trading partner among de-

veloping countries with over 10 per cent of our total trade. The reflects the potential of economic complementarity and geographical proximity between our two countries. At the same time, I am convinced that the full potential of bilateral economic cooperation has yet not been realised. We hope that with ongoing economic liberalisation and globalisation both in India and in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia this will rapidly take shape.

There is great admiration in India for the all round progress made by the friendly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the sagacious leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, His Majesty King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud. We admire and appreciate your abiding commitment to your traditional values while adjusting to the changing requirements of the present day.

Mr. Ambassador, I am confident that with your wide diplomatic experience, you will contribute effectively towards the expansion and diversification of our bilateral relations. I assure you that you will receive the fullest cooperation from my Government in this respect. I wish you a pleasant stay and all success during your tenure in India.

A New Vista of Indo-Uzbek Relations

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in receiving your letters of credence as the Ambassador of the Republic of Uzbekistan in India. This is indeed a happy occasion for me to receive in New Delhi the first accredited Envoy of independent Uzbekistan. The emergence of an independent Uzbekistan will undoubtedly help us realise the full potential of our historical friendship. Our two peoples have influenced each other in countless ways and in many respects our fates have been interlinked. This fund of mutual affection that exists between our two peoples enables us to enrich each other's lives and to help in our own tasks of nation building. Therefore, it is for me a specially pleasant occasion.

Accepting the credentials from Mr. S.M. Mirkasymov, Ambassador-designate of Uzbekistan, New Delhi, 23 September 1994

Our relations with independent Uzbekistan have grown rapidly although, given our age-old ties, their potential is far from realised. President Karimov of Uzbekistan has paid two state visits already and Prime Minister Shri Narasimha Rao has paid a visit last year to Uzbekistan. We have signed agreements to develop wide ranging cooperation between our two states and have already established a tradition of close consultations on regional and international issues. We are already assisting our Uzbek friends in training in different sectors, with credits, and I am specially happy to note, the facilities for direct transmission of Doordarshan programmes for Uzbek Television. We have an ongoing interaction between our academics, artists and scientists. We also have a cultural centre in Tashkent.

Our traditional ties also have a contemporary political relevance. As two countries having multi-ethnic secular pluralistic societies, we are conscious no less about the threats and challenges to our ways of life that we hold so dear. We also share the realisation that the key to our own and regional stability lies in our preservation of these values and in successfully meeting threats to them. In essence these arise out of ideological narrow mindedness and intolerance and are reflected in religious fundamentalism as well as terrorism, especially its abetment from across the borders. During my own interactions with His Excellency President Karimov, this concern comes across very clearly. Proceeding from our common cherished values and our regional and international perspectives, I cannot overstress the significance that we attach to our friendship with your country and of our continuing dialogue.

Mr. Ambassador, we recognise in you a friend of India and especially value your deep knowledge about India. I wish you every success in your responsible assignment. In our two peoples the expectations from this friendship are high : so, your job will be unremittingly demanding but I have no doubt that you will rise to the challenge. Government of India will offer every help that it can to make it so.

Mr. Ambassador, availing myself of this occasion, I wish to convey to His Excellency Mr. Islam Karimov, the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, my very best wishes for his personal health and happiness and to the friendly people of Uzbekistan for their prosperity.

Commitment to Sustainable Development

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to have presented the 1992 Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding to Mr. Maurice Strong. We honour Jawaharlal Nehru, not only as one of the makers of modern India, but as a world statesman whose vast knowledge of diverse cultures enabled him to address the real challenges facing humanity. The Nehru Award represents our commitment to the realisation of his vision. In Mr. Maurice Strong, its recipient for 1992, the jury has rightly selected a person who has sought to bring about international understanding through an awareness of our common heritage.

Panditji was a truly global person. His intellect was unbounded by dogma and his actions equally free from the constraints of the moment. A deep conviction of the oneness of our world permeated Panditji's thoughts and endeavours. He saw life on earth as interdependent and the principles guiding our existence as universal. He repeatedly spoke out against the division of our globe into military and economic blocs, pitted against each other. He voiced his belief that a world of haves and have-nots can never be at peace with itself. Whether it was the spectre of nuclear danger, the challenge of economic progress, or the quest for democratic pluralism, he emphasised the criticality of common striving.

Pandit Nehru's faith in the triumph of cooperation over conflict was unshakeable. Addressing the United Nations, Pandit Nehru said - "We live in a world of conflict and yet the world goes on, undoubtedly because of the cooperation of nations and individuals. The essential principle about the world is cooperation..."

Jawaharlal Nehru was a votary of science and technology for the advancement of humanity. It was not simply a means for material enrichment. It created a scientific temper. It had a moral and ethical context, which guided its application. Panditji was alive to the arrogance which can accompany the growth of knowl-

edge. Speaking on the subject of 'Science and humility', he described the scientific spirit as "one of realisation that somebody else may also have a bit of the truth." Today, even as we assess the progress of humankind and its impact on nature, we would do well to reflect on these words.

Recent decades have witnessed a growing consciousness on all those issues which Pandit Nehru strove to put on the global agenda. There is a recognition today that a common approach is necessary to meet the challenges of Peace, Development and Environmental protection. We are aware that the threat of warfare, particularly the use of weapons of mass destruction, can undermine development. The existence of degrading poverty in a large part of the world is seen as a reflection on all countries, both developing and developed. The interdependence of economies is being daily demonstrated. natural resources too are no longer seen as belonging only to the present. The message of the fragility of our existence on this planet is finally beginning to be heard.

Nehru's concern for environment and universal peace was derived from history. Indeed, it is as old as the settlement of human being and their impact on nature. In the ancient vedas, we find a profound understanding of the value of our environment:

यस्यां वृक्षा वानस्पत्या
ध्रुवास्तिष्ठन्ति विश्वहा ।
पृथिवीं विश्वधायसं
धृतामच्छावदामसि ।

"We invoke the Earth upon which foliage and trees are firmly held, unthreatened, the earth which is equipped with all good things in a stable environment of harmony."

The wisdom of the ancients was forgotten by a world mesmerised by technology and driven by commerce. In the era of industrialisation, the plundering and wastage of resources began the process of irreversible damage to our earth. The real price of that progress is being paid by succeeding generations in terms of global warming, ozone depletion, deforestation and the loss of biodiversity. A world marked by growing disparities has been the impoverishment of a bulk of its population for the benefit of a few.

Poverty and pollution feed on each other. This cycle can be broken only if we understand that environment protection is integral to development and progress. Concern for the environ-

ment is not a luxury only for the developed. In a world of shrinking resources and greater interdependence, we cannot attempt to preserve our environment in one half of the globe while neglecting the other. The eradication of poverty is intrinsic and indispensable to this objective.

In her address to the Stockholm Conference in 1972, Indira Gandhi emphasised the importance of development in this context. She saw it as "one of the primary means of improving the environment for living, or providing food, water, sanitation and shelter, of making the deserts green and the mountains habitable." And she stressed that 'the higher standard of living must be achieved without alienating the people from their heritage ... "

From growing awareness of environment degradation is slowly emerging the search for solutions. There are no simple answers. Controls on the exploitation of the natural environment will have to become increasingly stringent. Environment friendly technologies have to be vigorously promoted. At the global level, the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities must be carried to its logical conclusion.

Developed countries, in particular, must realise that the deterioration of our environment is too serious an issue to be used to achieve narrow objectives. It must not serve as a pretext to ossify the progress of developing nations. It must not become a trade weapon in the hands of the selfish. It must be ensured that the transfers of technology to the developing nations do not become the transfer of pollution.

Our search for commonalities, so necessary, is not a quest for uniformity. Beings on this planet are as diverse and unique as nature itself. Whether it is nation, a society, a group — all living creatures have their individual characteristics. Pandit Nehru was very sensitive to this need for the acceptance of diversities. It would be in keeping with his world view that the preservation of diversity be regarded as fundamental to life.

Finding solutions to the complexity of environmental issues has dominated global debate in recent years. It has given rise to the expressive phrase of 'sustainable development'. If development is not sustainable, then it is self-defeating. In our genuine urge to improve the lot of our people, we must not be reckless; nor can we be short-sighted. A great responsibility rests on our politicians and policy makers, on parliamentarians and public figures and on all

thinking people to promote national and global commitment to sustainable development.

Mr.Maurice Strong has made an extraordinary contribution to the general of environmental consciousness in our times. He has tirelessly endeavoured to promote global pp for sustainable development. As the moving force behind the 1972 Stockholm Conference and the 1992 Rio Summit, he has worked towards the achievement of international understanding on an issue vital to our every existence. He has brought to bear a remarkable degree of commitment, skill and diplomacy in pursuit of these noble objectives.

Jawaharlal Nehru said "Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is Prosperity now, and so also is Disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

This message of One World encapsulates Mr.Strong's mission in life. May his ceaseless endeavours inspire generations, current and future, and strive for a better tomorrow.

New Momentum to Indo-Afghan Relationship

I WELCOME YOU to India in your appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic state of Afghanistan.

India and Afghanistan are old friends. We are bound by geographical proximity, and numerous historical associations. For centuries the peoples of Afghanistan and the Indian subcontinent have known each other. The rugged passes of the Hindukush and the brave inhabitants of the lands beyond figure prominently in India's history. This enduring intimacy has bequeathed to us a continuing tradition of mutual goodwill, trust, and friendship.

Afghanistan's recent history has been one of turmoil, turbulence and tragedy. We in India, share the agony of Afghanistan.

Accepting the credentials from Mr.Eshan Jan Areef, Ambassador-designate of Afghanistan, New Delhi, 22 November 1994

Your trials and tribulations have caused us much pain and anguish.

India stands for a united, stable, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. We oppose all foreign interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, from whatever quarters. We believe the only solution is a peaceful political settlement, acceptable to all sections of the people of Afghanistan. We support the untiring efforts of the Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary General, Ambassador Mehmoud Mestiri, to facilitate such a settlement.

The unsettled conditions in Afghanistan have interrupted the traditions of frequent high-level exchanges between our two countries. India stands ready to revive these contacts and to impart a fresh momentum to the bilateral relationship. We hope that the conditions on the ground would improve speedily which would facilitate this traffic. We are also eager to reopen our Embassy in Kabul at the earliest possible opportunity.

There has been an inevitable slow down in our traditional programmes of bilateral cooperation. We would like to accelerate the pace of bilateral exchanges in different spheres.

Beyond the immediate challenge of peace in Afghanistan is the formidable task of reconstruction of the war-ravaged nation. I have no doubt the people of Afghanistan, and the international community, would approach this challenge with determination and dedication. As a traditional friend of the people of Afghanistan, India stands ready to make the fullest possible contribution to the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

India and Afghanistan are neighbours in a region of the world which has undergone major transformations in recent years. These changes have thrown up vast opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation among the countries of the region, as well as a dangerous potential for instability, cross-border terrorism, narcotics traffic, etc. Peace in Afghanistan, and India-Afghanistan friendship, would make a vital contribution to regional peace and stability.

I would like to assure you of my government's full cooperation in the discharge of your responsibilities in India. I am confident that India—Afghanistan relations will be further strengthened and expanded during your tenure.

I also wish Your Excellency personal happiness as well as a fruitful and fulfilling tenure here. I also take this opportunity to convey through you to the Government and people of Afghanistan warm good wishes and friendly sentiments from the Government and people of India.

Scope for Furthering Indo-Kenyan Relations

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to receive your letter of credence and to welcome you as the High Commissioner of our brotherly country of Kenya.

Relations between India and Kenya have always been warm, mutually beneficial, and characterised by mutual regard. The Indian Ocean, which laps the shores of both our countries, has never been a gulf, but a bridge over which trade and ideas have travelled since time immemorial. In more modern times both our countries have waged similar struggles for freedom, and undertaken similar tasks of nation-building after Independence. Both our countries are active members of the UN, the Commonwealth, NAM, and other international organisations; both have worked and made valuable contributions for the cause of peace, and for the creation of a fairer and just international order.

Cooperation between our two countries dates back to the day India became free, when India threw open its universities, colleges and training institutions for students from Kenya. Over the decades since then thousands of students from Kenya have been educated in India, and after the completion of their studies have returned to Kenya to take part in the various developmental activities of their country. Cooperation between our two countries has extended in other areas also, to trade and commerce, agriculture and industry, science and technology, education and culture, defence and communications. It is a matter of some pride to us

Accepting the credentials from Mr. Joshua Terer, High Commissioner-designate of Kenya, New Delhi, 30 November 1994

that many people of Indian origin, who live and work in Kenya, have also contributed to the economic growth and development of Kenya.

In the last few years enormous changes have taken place in India, in Kenya, and in the world at large. We now live in a fast changing world, with new uncertainties, new problems, but also new opportunities. We have more scope now to expand and deepen our relations. The Government and the people of India are ready and willing to work for the realisation of the full potential of our bilateral relations.

Excellency, I wish you all success in all your endeavours as high Commissioner. I would also like to convey to you, and through you to His Excellency the President of Kenya, our best wishes for the peace and prosperity of the people of Kenya.

IX

Messages

Teachers' Day

ON THE OCCASION of Teachers' Day, observed by our nation on the birth anniversary of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, I have great pleasure in extending my felicitations to the teaching fraternity.

Today, more than ever, a great responsibility rests with teachers with regard to building the character and acumen of the children and youth of India.

Ethical and moral values, awareness of the significance of our heritage of thought and culture, our spirit of pluralism and oneness, the inculcation of scientific temper, patriotism, and a sense of mission in the task of taking our great country forward - all these need to be nurtured in young minds by our teachers.

Even in difficult conditions, India's teachers have rendered invaluable service towards individual, social and national growth. This is reflected in the qualitative and quantitative aspects of our achievements in diverse sectors of nation-building and by Indians being recognized for their excellence in many spheres of international endeavour.

Let us therefore accord due respect to our teachers, as has been India's own tradition, and may a positive environment for education abound in our country for the good of all.

Mira Behn—Life of Spartan Simplicity

MIRA BEHN HAS been a household name in India in the context of our struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke. Spurning the comforts of her own country, Mira Behn gave her all to the fight for India's Independence. She participated actively in the civil disobedience movement and was imprisoned in 1932-33 and in 1942.

Of her first meeting with Gandhiji at Sabarmati, Mira Behn recalled many years later "...As I entered, I became conscious of a small spare figure rising up from a white gaddi and stepping towards me. I knew it was Bapu, but, so completely overcome was I with reverence and joy that I could see and feel nothing but a heavenly light. I fell on my knees at Bapu's feet. He lifted me up and taking me in his arms said, 'You shall be my daughter'. And so has it been from that day".

Mira Behn adopted a life of spartan simplicity in India. Her role in winning support in the U.K. and other countries for the Indian freedom movement was indeed significant. In Gandhiji and Kasturba, she found spiritual parents with whose loving inspiration she strove tirelessly for the cause of khadi and the social and economic uplift of the poor. In one of his letters from the Yeravda jail, Gandhiji wrote to her "...You are having a variety of experiences. Seekers after Truth turn every one of these to good account".

It is befitting that Mira Behn's birth centenary should be observed by us this year in various parts of the country. Her life and work will long inspire all those who, across national frontiers, cherish the values of freedom and human dignity.

I wish the celebrations all success.

Guru Nanak Dev—Symbol of Love and Compassion

OUR REVERED GURU Nanak Dev, the very symbol of love, tolerance and compassion, preached universal brotherhood and the importance of rendering service to humanity. He showed us the path to a truly spiritual life based on ethical and moral values and believed that all seekers after Truth, regardless of community, caste and colour, are free to follow their religious convictions and beliefs.

On Guru Nanak Dev's sacred birth anniversary, let us all resolve to apply his teachings in our daily lives and rededicate ourselves to the cause of peace and harmony in our great country.

Swami Vivekananda— Emulate His Ideals

I AM HAPPY to learn that the Ramakrishna Mission, New Delhi are celebrating the Centenary of revered Swami Vivekananda's Bharat Parikrama.

Swamiji's illustrious life was dedicated to the cause of national rejuvenation and regeneration through a sustained inculcation of moral and ethical values. He vigorously championed the importance of service to humankind and the strength and purity of individual character. The Bharat Parikrama was the culmination of long thought on the problems of the masses and of years of longing that these might be effectively tackled.

To Swami Vivekananda, religion embraced the heart of the people, their lives, their hopes and their aspirations. Let us all resolve to act upon Swamiji's inspiring message and endeavour to emulate his shining example for moving towards the goals of economic progress and social change in our country.

I convey my felicitations to the organisers and wish the celebrations all success.

Demolition of Babri Masjid— Violative of India's Ethos

THE VANDALISM THAT has caused damage to the Masjid in Ayodhya is strongly deplorable. Such acts are absolutely against the doctrine and practices of Hinduism and all other great religions. Those who harmed the structure of the Masjid have caused injury to the centuries-old ethos of India, nurtured and strengthened by the martyrs and great leaders of India's struggle for freedom and national reconstruction. They have violated the Rule of Law, the tradition of India of mutual respect of all religions, and the basic tenets and values of the Hindu way of life.

The Prime Minister should initiate appropriate expeditious steps to uphold the Rule of Law, the maintenance of public order and protection of all law-abiding citizens.

I earnestly appeal to the people to maintain peace and unity and cooperate with one another in curbing all anti-national elements.

Dadabhai Naoroji Represented the Spirit of India

DADABHAI NAOROJI WAS a father-figure in the galaxy of Indian nationalists. His illustrious life and work truly represent the spirit of our great country. One of the founders of the Indian National Congress, he was thrice elected its President and made an outstanding contribution to public affairs in both India and Britain. He was a leading social reformer who dedicated himself to the noble ideals of secularism and human rights and was indefatigable in his efforts for the uplift of Indian women.

Dadabhai Naoroji's entry into the House of Commons was a triumph for the nationalist cause. I am happy to learn that the centenary of this important event is being observed in our country and have much pleasure in extending my cordial greetings to the organisers and complimenting them for remembering the exemplary services of a great patriot who is so well remembered as the Grand Old Man of India.

I wish the function all success.

Narcotics—a Threat to Humankind

THE SCOURGE OF drug abuse and illicit trafficking in narcotics poses an extremely grave threat to the health and well-being of all humankind. The nexus between drug abuse and various illegal activities which can undermine the very existence of civilized society is equally a matter of growing concern. The government and non-government agencies who are working in this field have, therefore, to pursue a well-coordinated approach to tackle this serious problem.

On the occasion of the International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, let us resolve to substantially intensify our effort to combat and eliminate this menace to the progress and prosperity of humanity. I wish every success to the endeavours of all those who are engaged in this important task.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur— Dauntless Spirit

I AM GLAD to learn that the Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur Commemorative Volume is being released by the Y.W.C.A. of India to honour the memory of one who played an important role in our struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke.

Born in a princely family, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur unhesitatingly gave up a life of material comfort to be at Bapu's side during the freedom movement, working as his Secretary and aide for more than a decade. A Member of the Constituent Assembly of India, the Provisional Parliament and the Lok Sabha during the years 1946-57 and the first lady Minister in independent India's first Cabinet, she was a person of dauntless spirit. Her strength lay in her vigour and courage and her devotion to Bapu.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur gave herself for all noble causes and nation-building activities, especially in the field of public health and social service.

I trust that the Commemorative Volume will inspire many a young person in our country to emulate her shining example.

Swami Vivekananda— a True Humanist

I AM GLAD to learn that the Delhi Centre of the Ramakrishna Mission would be celebrating in October, 1993, the Centenary of Swami Vivekananda's participation in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago.

Swamiji took the opportunity at the Parliament of Religions to emphasize that economic progress was of overriding importance for humanity and that no one could be unmindful of the prevailing conditions of want and deprivation. The audience saw that the person speaking to them was a true humanist whose mission was to work to alleviate poverty and remove illiteracy. The simple words "Sisters and Brothers of America" with which Swami Vivekananda opened his first Address at Chicago evoked an outburst of enthusiasm that aptly reflected his broad vision, transparent sincerity and unswerving commitment to the service of humanity. Swamiji's participation in the Parliament of Religions brought international honour to our Motherland.

I extend my good wishes to the Ramakrishna Mission, New Delhi and wish the celebrations all success.

Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia—Sufi Saint

ON THE OCCASION of the 689th Urs Mubarak of our revered Sufi Saint, Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, I have great pleasure in offering warm felicitations to the Urs Celebration Committee and good wishes to all those participating in the celebrations.

Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia Mahboob-e-Ilahi showed us the path to a truly spiritual life based on the highest ethical and moral values. A unique symbol of love, compassion and tolerance, he preached universal brotherhood and was venerated by all communities. May his noble message inspire us to work unitedly in the cause of national integration and communal harmony and be of service to humanity.

Vinoba—a Symbol of Service to Humanity

I AM VERY happy to know that the Birth Centenary of Acharya Vinoba Bhave—rightly called Gandhiji's spiritual heir—is being celebrated as "Jai Jagat Mahotsava" during 1994-95.

Bapu chose Vinobaji as the first "Satyagrahi", describing him as "a rare pearl—one of those who have come not to be blessed but to bless, not to receive but to give". Through his great ideal—Sarvodaya, the welfare of all—Vinobaji continued Gandhiji's legacy of service to humanity the observance of non-violence, national unity and the dignity of labour.

Vinobaji's selfless and noble life—dedicated to the last to the cause of the downtrodden—exemplifies a lofty model of adherence to the highest moral and ethical values. His Bhoodan Yagna will long be remembered as history's largest voluntary land donation programme. To him, the movement was the first step towards a social revolution through love. As he himself had said:

"We do not aim at doing acts of kindness
but at creating a kingdom of kindness".

We need to recall Vinobaji's outstanding contributions so that the younger generation may continue to feel inspired by his shining example.

I wish the Centenary celebrations all success.

Indian Army—Dedicated Service to Motherland

THE EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE of the Indian Army, both in war and in peace, its high standards of training and professionalism and unswerving devotion to duty have earned it pride of place amongst the world's land forces. Through their patriotism, courage and bravery, our Army has made outstanding contribution in protecting the frontiers of the nation and rendering assistance in times of natural calamity, upholding the finest traditions of dedicated service to the Motherland.

I am confident that the Indian Army will continue to distinguish itself in meeting the challenges of the future. On the occasion of Army Day, 1994, I extend my warm greetings and good wishes to all ranks of the Army and their families.

Aurobindo—Fiery Messenger of God

I AM GLAD to know that a National Seminar on “Integration: Call of the Hour” is being organized on the occasion of the Centenary celebrations of Sri Aurobindo’s return to India on 6th February, 1893.

Sri Aurobindo’s return was truly a watershed in the history of the Indian National Movement. In his own words, Sri Aurobindo entered the political arena with the sole aim “to get into the mind of the people a settled will for freedom and the necessity of a struggle to achieve it...” Within a short space of time, he galvanised public life in the country and made a significant contribution in raising the demand for complete and total independence. Sri Aurobindo’s editorship of *Bande Mataram* and *Yugantar* was a landmark in journalism and in Indian political history.

Gurudev Tagore described Sri Aurobindo as ‘the fiery messenger with the lamp of God’. That description captures in essence the critical role of an extraordinary individual who infused life into our national movement at a very difficult moment.

A multi-faceted personality, Sri Aurobindo was politician and a prophet, a poet and a philosopher. He is admired as a great writer and revered as a great yogi. In all his activities, his patriotism and love for the country was manifest. As he withdrew from active politics, Sri Aurobindo himself was conscious of the eventual futility of violence as a means of bringing about social or political change. The message of Sri Aurobindo that the change must come from within is of even greater relevance today than before.

Sri Aurobindo represented a synthesis of different cultures and was an integral personality in the true sense of the term. It is but fitting that the Centenary celebrations should be marked by a Seminar on National Integration.

I extend my felicitations and good wishes to the Centenary celebrations.

Message on the Centenary of Sri Aurobindo’s return to India, New Delhi, 2 February 1994

Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali— International Statesman

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to learn that Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations has been conferred the International Award for World Peace by the Organisation of Nuclear Disarmament and World Peace.

Dr. Ghali is an outstanding statesman who, through his dedication and wisdom, has rendered great service to the international community. During his tenure as Secretary-General, the role of United Nations has expanded.

Peace and security, if they are to be long lasting, must depend on international cooperation and understanding rather than on weapons and deterrence. Non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi is at the core of our efforts towards total elimination of all nuclear weapons. We are committed to bringing about general and complete disarmament and will continue to actively work towards a nuclear weapon free world.

I congratulate the Organisation for Nuclear Disarmament and World Peace for making efforts to mobilise public opinion in favour of Nuclear Disarmament and world peace.

I wish the Award ceremony all success.

Christ—Embodiment of Highest Ethical Values

I AM HAPPY to know that the Catholic Bishops Conference of India is celebrating its Golden Jubilee in 1994.

Lord Jesus Christ had said: "In the mansion of my Father are many rooms". This doctrine has been central to the great heritage of our religious thought. We should delve deep into its meaning and make it part and parcel of our individual outlook and life of our nation.

Christ's noble and selfless life exemplifies a lofty model of adherence to the highest moral and ethical values. May His radiant message of Service instil in us a sense of tolerance and feeling of oneness and solidarity.

I hope this august gathering will, through constructive interaction and exchange of ideas, lend important support to the process of national unity and understanding among human beings.

I send my greetings and felicitations to all the participants and my good wishes to the success of the inaugural function.

Jallianwala Bagh— the Message of Our Martyrs

THE BULLET-SCARRED walls and hallowed ground at Jallianwala Bagh: once soaked in the blood of innocent children, women and men; Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, - hold forth to us a message and a warning of perennial importance.

These sacred precincts powerfully symbolize the suffering and sacrifice of the people of India in our historic struggle for human rights and national sovereignty.

They tell us also ever to bear in mind that national unity and solidarity are the true and indispensable safeguards for our cherished freedom, our cultural heritage and our endeavours to attain growth with social justice.

In the seventy-five years since April 13, 1919, the wheel of history has moved forward. India and Great Britain are today linked by bonds of friendship and cooperation for mutual benefit, based on a commonality of values and goals. This signifies the victorious ascendance of Truth, Non-violence and courage.

And yet, we must hearken that our cause of national reconstruction requires effort and devotion on the part of every citizen, each day; for India's struggle did not end in 1947, it continues still, with a new quality and new dimension, in face of varied challenges to our freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

I pay respectful homage to the memory of the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh and all those who gave their lives to win or to protect our freedom.

I salute also all those in other continents of the world who died so that human beings may live in freedom, dignity and peace, as human beings.

May the spirit of the martyrs ever inspire us and guide us.

Bishnu Ram Medhi— Symbol of Sacrifice

SHRI BISHNU RAM MEDHI had rendered invaluable service to our nation as a leader in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom. He underwent repeated spells of imprisonment: during the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920, again in 1921, and for another prolonged term of three years during the historic Quit India Movement of 1942. In this period he also donated his substantial personal wealth to the national cause. Through his sacrifice, suffering and steadfast leadership, he set an inspiring example and was admired throughout the country. Indeed, the courageous and persevering efforts of leaders like Shri Bishnu Ram Medhi in Assam enlarged the political dimensions of the national struggle for freedom at a critical juncture in our history.

After Independence, Shri Bishnu Ram Medhi served the people with great devotion and distinction as Chief Minister and then as Governor. He will always be remembered for his contributions in diverse spheres of national reconstruction.

I am happy that the 106th birth anniversary of Shri Bishnu Ram Medhi is being celebrated.

I have great pleasure in conveying my greetings and good wishes on this happy occasion.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad—First President of Our Republic

THE PUBLICATION OF the Twentieth Volume of the Correspondence and Select Documents of Dr. Rajendra Prasad is very welcome. A stalwart of our freedom struggle, Dr Rajendra Prasad was a scholar, a legal luminary, an educationist and a social reformer. Above all, he was a true follower of Bapu, in deed and word.

In this volume, the focus is on Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the President of the Constituent Assembly of India. He unobtrusively guided deliberations and decisions on issues which shaped the Indian polity. The Members of the Assembly had been entrusted with the onerous responsibility of framing a Constitution which would meet the aspirations and hopes of the people in India. It was an Assembly composed of distinguished individuals, drawn from different walks of life, and truly representative of the best talents of the country. There could have been no more appropriate choice to preside over this Assembly than Rajendra Babu, whose knowledge and learning were matched by his humility and understanding.

Rajendra Babu left an indelible imprint on the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly and played a pivotal part in framing the Constitution. He visualised in the Constitution the ideals which inspired the National Movement and sought to give them concrete shape through its provisions.

In forty-five years since the framing of the Constitution, we have made significant strides in our national development and firmly established a society based on rule of law, secularism and

social justice. The national ethos which has created a stable climate for social and economic development has been made possible by the wisdom of the leaders of our freedom struggle. One of the foremost among them was Rajendra Babu and we can pay no better tribute to him than to understand and appreciate the process by which our Constitution was framed, and his role in it.

Shri Valmiki Choudhry has rendered a great service by collecting and compiling the papers which record Rajendra Babu's activities and endeavours. The dedication with which he has undertaken this task is commendable.

Aruna Asaf Ali—Personification of Courage and Service

ARUNAJI'S LIFE AND work, before and after Independence, in India and around the globe, is an inspiring legend. She personifies the qualities of courage, selfless service, sacrifice and determination.

During the Quit India Movement, when great national leaders were held in prison, Arunaji waged a heroic struggle. In a letter, Bapu, addressing her as 'Chiranjivi daughter Aruna', wrote: "This struggle has been full of romance and heroism. You are the central figure. God be your sole guide". Jawaharlal Nehru said of her: "A vibrant and challenging personality who has shaken up many sleeping persons and become in many ways a symbol of the changing times".

Over the decades, Arunaji has worked ceaselessly for the promotion of a secular, democratic and socialist ethos in our nation. Her endeavours towards building and safeguarding international understanding, fellowship and cooperation have been recognized in many parts of the world.

Even now, frail in health, Arunaji continues to be passionately involved in every issue having a bearing on the lives of the masses, and inspiring the younger generation through her example.

I greatly value my own personal association with Arunaji and on her 85th birthday, I send my warm regards and felicitations and wish her many more years of good health, happiness and fulfilment.

Bhagavad Gita's Appeal Transcends All Borders

I AM GLAD to learn that the Gita Ashram of London is hosting the Tenth International *Gita* Conference in U.K. in August, 1994.

The theme of the Conference '*Gita* and the Universal Brotherhood' is highly relevant in today's world. The *Bhagavad Gita* is symbolic of the universality of knowledge and wisdom and has an appeal which transcends all borders. It is a message of eternal relevance to humanity. Mahatma Gandhi called the *Gita* as his 'spiritual dictionary' and described it as "a book which is free from sectarianism and dogma."

I have great pleasure in extending my good wishes to the success of the Conference. May the message of the *Gita* lead to fuller understanding of good conduct and brotherhood of man and inspire us to serve humanity.

Indian Air Force—Sentinels of Nation's Security

ON THE 62ND Anniversary of the Indian Air Force, it gives me great pleasure to convey my greetings and best wishes to all its personnel and their families.

The IAF plays a vital role in our national security, keeping a vigil over our air space and maintaining life lines to remote and difficult border areas. They have also come to the aid of civil authorities by bringing succour to the needy during natural calamities. The IAF's state of operational preparedness ensures the safety and security of the nation.

I am confident that in the years to come, the Indian Air Force will continue to maintain the highest standards of commitment and competence.

Zarathustra—Embodiment of Love and Piety

ZARATHUSTRA EXEMPLIFIED SPIRITUALITY with his renunciation of wordly pleasures and his undeviating pursuit of righteousness and truth.

His message of compassion, love and piety have eternal relevance for humankind. His philosophy and teachings have been the sustenance for the Parsi community through the vicissitudes of history.

On the Lord's birth anniversary, let us appreciate and follow his noble teachings.

Gandhiji's Message has Eternal Relevance

THIS OCTOBER SECOND we commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi.

Bapu was more than a Leader of our freedom struggle. He was the very symbol of our yearning for Independence, who embodied in his person the determination to give the suppressed voice of this nation, expression once again.

His great contribution was to the realm of truth and morality, as he showed us that society can survive and progress only on the basis of non-violence. His legacy of satyagraha continues to inspire people in different corners of the world in their struggle against injustice and evil.

Firmly rooted in the Indian ethos, Bapu believed that our society has been built on the foundations of secularism and a composite culture. His words that: "all religions are true and are as dear to me as my own", summed up his value system for which he eventually sacrificed his life.

Bapu had a unique bond with the people of this nation. His total immersion in the life of the masses gave him extraordinary insights into our society. From his teachings, we draw inspiration in virtually every field of human activity - from social reform, education and health to economic development and government.

The message of the Mahatma has eternal relevance. Panditji said of him after his assassination - "He has shown us the way to live and the way to die and if we have not understood that lesson, it would be better that we raised no memorial to him, for the only fitting memorial is to follow reverently in the path he showed us and to do our duty in life and in death". This is the real tribute we can pay Bapu, this day.

Ustad Hafiz Ali Khan— Sarod Maestro

I AM PLEASED to know that Ustad Hafiz Ali Khan Memorial Society is organizing its annual Award Ceremony in Gwalior.

Gwalior is a place of pilgrimage for the musicians of India. It is the land of great Mian Tansen where his Mazaar still exists. It was here that the Sarod was developed by Gulam Bandagi Khan Bangash and his son Gulam Ali Khan Bangash, the forefathers of Ustad Hafiz Ali Khan Saheb. His descendants have since kept up the tradition and the Senia Bangash Gharana of Gwalior is the 7th Generation of this Bangash *parampara* on Sarod playing.

The Awards instituted in remembrance of Ustad Hafiz Ali Khan Saheb honours a legendary musician and reaffirms as well our commitment to the composite culture of India, of which music is such an important element.

I extend my congratulations to this year's recipients of the Award: Pandit Nikhil Ghosh and Pandit C.R. Vyas. I am glad that Pandit Bhimsen Joshi, a disciple of Ustad Saheb, will be performing at the award ceremony.

I send my best wishes on the occasion.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar —Social Reformer

ISHWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR may truly be regarded as one of the makers of modern India. His contribution to the evolution of our society had many facets. He established a modern educational system in Bengal at both the primary and higher level which served as an example to the rest of the country. His efforts in promoting women's education not only contributed to their education, but was a significant step in social reform. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar spearheaded the movement for the re-marriage of widows and for the abolition of polygamy, fighting social evils which had long afflicted our society. His creative talent expressed itself in his contribution to modern Bengali literature, his influence being felt to the present day. Such was his compassion, feeling and endeavours to secure social justice that Vidyasagar was described by Bapu as Karunasagar.

I am happy to learn that Vidyasagar Mela '94 is being organised in Calcutta to pay tribute to this great son of India. It is but appropriate that the proceeds from the Mela would be used to establish one school every year and to make Birshingha, the birth place of Vidyasagar, an ideal village.

I send my best wishes for the success of the Mela.

Bapu's Vision

I AM GLAD to learn that the Gujarat Vidyapith, an institution founded in 1920 by Gandhiji himself, will commemorate Bapu's 125th birth anniversary by organising an International Seminar on 'Gandhiji in a Changing World'.

Bapu's quest in life was for truth, truth as an end, truth as the means. He demonstrated that Ahimsa and Satyagraha are potent weapons to fight any evil or untruth.

Independence, for him, was but the first step. Bapu believed that real freedom must encompass all aspects of life, including employment, education, health, and above all, the dignity of human beings. His was a holistic vision which covered a spectrum of human activities. He was at the same time a political leader, social reformer, an economic thinker, educationist, and a philosopher.

Bapu's empathy with the masses was unique and his feel for their problems almost intuitive. His solutions—be it Khadi or the Salt Satyagraha—were staggering in their simplicity and effectiveness. Bapu focussed attention on the long neglected villages of our nation, knowing that unless the employment, health and education of our villages could be ensured, India would not progress.

Education was conceived by the Mahatma as 'the spearhead of a silent social revolution'. Never failing to recognize injustice and never hesitating to combat it, Bapu worked unremittingly for the welfare of the oppressed and the dispossessed. He strove to make social uplift a priority in our national agenda.

Bapu saw religion in universal terms, believing that it gave a moral purpose to man and his activities on earth. For him, religions were 'different roads converging on the same point.'

The phenomenon that was Bapu will take time to appreciate and truly understand. I wish all success to the Seminar focussing on the Mahatma's message.

Indian Navy—Exemplary Service to the Nation

ON THIS OCCASION of Navy Day 1994, I extend my good wishes to all the officers and service and civilian personnel of the Navy, and to their families.

The Indian Navy has a proud history of defending our nation. Its performance, in both war and peace, has been exemplary. As a body of competent and dedicated professionals, the Navy has protected and developed our maritime interests. Its role in peace keeping operations abroad and assisting civil authority in times of need is creditworthy. Upgrading its capabilities to meet its growing responsibilities, I am confident that the Navy will continue to serve our Motherland with distinction and meet the challenges of the future.

Sri Birsa Munda— Protagonist of Tribal Rights

I AM GLAD to learn that the Birsa Munda Statue Committee, Rourkela, is bringing out a Souvenir “Dharti Abba” on the occasion of the 119th Birth Anniversary of Sri Birsa Munda on 15 November 1994.

Sri Birsa Munda occupies a distinguished position as a protagonist of tribal rights. His entire life was one of hardship, service and dedication to their cause. He played a prominent role during the freedom struggle and suffered rigorous imprisonment. Sri Birsa Munda also started a new religious movement known as the ‘Birsait’ which laid stress on prayers, faith in God and observance of a code of conduct. His life-work will always remain an inspiration to all.

I join all those who have come to Rourkela to pay their tribute to Sri Birsa Munda on this occasion and wish the publication all success.

Children's Day

PANDIT NEHRU'S LOVE and affection for Children is well-known. Their lack of inhibition, their freedom from fear, their innocence of prejudices and their unbounded curiosity were qualities that attracted him.

In celebrating Panditji's birth anniversary as Children's Day, we are reflecting not merely his sentiments, but his deep belief in children as our national asset. In the health, education and development of our children lies the future of India. The programmes dedicated to this end must remain a national priority.

On the occasion of Children's Day-1994, I extend my best wishes to the Children of India and to all those organisations and individuals who strive for their welfare.

Jawaharlal Nehru University —Academic Eminence

I AM GLAD to learn that the Jawaharlal Nehru University is commemorating its Silver Jubilee on 14th November, 1994.

The University was envisaged as a memorial to Panditji, a testimony to the noble ideals which he symbolised. It reflects his quest for an India dedicated to secularism, democracy, social justice, national integration and international understanding.

As a national institution, drawing its faculty and students from all over the country, the University's academic activities have been socially relevant. Its special contribution has been to foster multi-disciplinary studies. The academic endeavours of the University have been rooted in the Indian reality. The focus on international studies, foreign languages and cultures represents the conviction that interaction with other societies is enriching.

Over the last 25 years, the University has evolved its distinctive philosophy and academic environment. As an institution dedicated to nurturing the legacy of Pandit Nehru, it will surely equip well its students to face the challenges of life ahead.

On the occasion of its Silver Jubilee, I convey my best wishes for the further growth of the University, for years of creative work ahead and for producing socially sensitive and responsible students.

Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab— Maker of Modern Orissa

I AM HAPPY to know that a Souvenir is being brought out on the occasion of the 8th death anniversary of Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab at Bhubaneswar in January 1995.

Dr. Mahtab was an ardent nationalist who took part in our freedom struggle and joined the Non-Cooperation Movement. A true Gandhian, he combined humility with dignity in all his strivings and achievements. He fought relentlessly against social evils and disparities.

Dr. Mahtab was a prolific writer, known for his erudition, deep sense of history and literary taste. His outstanding works which won him awards, focussed popular consciousness towards the attainment of moral values and social goals.

Dr. Mahtab is rightly regarded as one of the makers of modern Orissa. The new capital at Bhubaneswar and the Hirakund Dam Project at Sambalpur bear testimony of his foresight. His life and deeds will remain an inspiration to all.

I pay my tribute to this great son of India and send my best wishes to all the freedom fighters participating in the celebrations of the 8th Freedom Fighters Day Mahotsav.

Tamil's Rich Contribution to India's Heritage

I AM VERY glad to learn that the VIII International Conference on Tamil Studies is being held at Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu, from 1-5 January, 1995.

The history of Tamils has been a source of pride not only for the Tamil people but for the entire nation. Tamil culture has been characterized by rich language, a body of literature spanning two millennia, and exquisite religious and secular music and art. The creativity of Tamil people found expression in various fields of human endeavour and has significantly contributed to our composite heritage.

Among the oldest living languages, Tamil grammatical works date back to 3rd century B.C. The language itself has an extraordinary continuity, both in its classical and colloquial forms. Its vitality is supported by a great tradition of written and oral expression. The poetry of the Sangam period, the *Thirukural*, *Cilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* are works unrivalled in their fame. The hymns of Nayanars and Alvars, epic like *Civakachintamani* or the *Kambarramayana*, testify to a quality of literary outpouring that has been the hallmark of Tamil society in every phase of its evolution. In the modern era too, our national movement found no better voice than in the great poet Subramania Bharati.

The values emphasised in their history underlines a society committed to humanity and its progress. While appreciating valour and glory, Tamils have sought greater attributes in their heroes: the integrity of a Nedunceliyan, the intellect of a Mahendravarman or the culture of a Rajaraja Chola.

Message on the VIII International Conference on Tamil at Thanjavur, New Delhi, 24 December 1994

Pluralism has long been part of Tamil cultural tradition. Tamil Nadu is a source of both Saivite and Vaishnavite philosophies. It has produced masterpieces reflecting Jain and Buddhist belief. A substantial body of work exists on Islam and Christianity as well. Thus an example has been set of different faiths coexisting in harmony, enriching each other through their interaction.

In the course of their long history, Tamils have an impressive list of achievements to their credit. They built great temples, constructed irrigation systems, and established early urban settlements. Their dynamism was evident in domestic and international commerce. Even in ancient times, Tamils traded with Greece and Rome, with the Arabs, South East Asia and China. Their adventurous spirit led them to settle in various corners of the globe. To the 60 million Tamils in India can be added communities in Malaysia and Burma, Thailand and Indo-China, South and East Africa, Sri Lanka, Fiji and Mauritius and in distant West Indies.

Wherever they may be, Tamils have maintained their identity. This is but natural to a people whose ancient heritage shapes contemporary values. Intellect and industry are qualities associated with them. They are in the forefront of our efforts in national reconstruction, in economic and social advancement, in development of human resources and in facing global competition.

This Conference provides an opportunity for Tamil intellectuals from all corners of the globe to come together. In addressing the theme of the Conference - "The contribution of Tamil culture to the 21st Century", they must draw on the traditions of a rich culture to meet the challenges of the future.

I send my best wishes on the occasion of this Conference.

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“ **L**et us strive to fulfil
the dreams of those who gave
their all for India's freedom,
and labour to build a new
India : strong, vibrant and
progressive, making its
rightful contribution for the
good of all humankind. ”

J. D. Sharma

